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HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

1739—1768

(Evolution of the Sikh Confederacies)

BY

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FORMAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, LAHORE

WITH A FOREWORD BY

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, C.I.E.

" The good old rule, the simple plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

CALCUTTA

1939

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TO

MY TEACHER

PRINCIPAL

SITARAM KOHLI

FOREWORD.

Professor Hari Ram Gupta's thesis on the Evolution of the Sikh Confederacies *(i.e., misls)*, which I examined, along with Sir Edward Maclagan, the scholarly ex-Governor of the Panjab, for the Ph. D. degree of the Panjab University,—struck me as a work of outstanding merit which competently fills up a gap in our knowledge of modern Indian history. I have therefore urged the author to print it and have put him on the way to securing financial assistance for the purpose.

As Dr. Gupta has pointed out, while the history of the Sikh Gurus (terminating in 1715, if we include Banda) has been repeatedly worked over, and that of Ranjit Singh is still better known, the intervening period of the rise of the *misls* and their occupation of the Panjab has not been studied by scholars. And yet this period is one of absorbing interest and historical importance, because it represents the formative stage of the Sikhs as a political power.

The subject, at the outset, presented difficulties only commensurate with its attractiveness and importance. How the evidence lay scattered mostly in manuscript sources in more than half a dozen languages and the manuscripts could be consulted only in several libraries,—in one case more than a thousand miles distant,—has been described by the author. I have seen this thesis when under construction and also in its finished state, and can testify to the industry and success with which Dr. Gupta has utilised an immense number of scraps of information and pieced them together into a compact readable whole.

The necessity of reducing the cost of printing has forced him to cut out all oriental quotations and even "justificative pieces" in English, and also to compress the footnotes with extreme severity, and hence there is some danger of the reader underestimating the author's erudition and the reliability of his narrative. But I who went through this history in its original complete form in manuscript, feel confident that it stands in an unassailable position. The long critical bibliography first written by him has been similarly cut down, in printing, to a bare list of names, but it proves that the author has left no source untapped and taken nothing without a critical examination.

One period of Panjab history—and that of the Delhi Empire, too,—has thus been set up on a granite foundation. It ought to serve as a model to other workers on Indian history.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

PREFACE

Of all the provinces of India, the Punjab—the point of impact between India and the ever-moving peoples of the North-west—must always have a peculiar interest to a student of Indian history. Similarly, in the history of the Punjab, there is no other feature so interesting as the history of the Sikhs. Some aspect of the history of these people have been pretty fully treated by previous writers. For instance, the history of the Sikh Church and the early struggle between this community and the Mughal Government (1469-1716) have been very well described by European and Indian scholars. Again, the history of the Sikh monarchy under Ranjit Singh and his successors (1799-1849) has also been ably dealt with by standard writers.

The intervening period (1716-1799), however, if not altogether neglected, has not received the attention it deserves. This period forms one of the most important chapters of Sikh history. It was during this time that the Sikhs evolved themselves, by the strength of their own arms, into one of the finest military peoples of the world. It was now that the Sikhs entered on their meteoric career by availing themselves of the many opportunities open to genius and ambition, for carving out independent principalities on the ashes of the Mughal Empire. It was then that they developed the germs of a worthier political existence and began to make themselves fit for the task of building up a kingdom. It was at this time that they played the most important part in the politics of Northern India, during the whirlwind incursions of foreign hordes from 1739 to 1767. It was in these days

that the Sikhs rendered the most invaluable services to the cause of our country by putting a dead stop to all foreign invasions from the north-west.

It was the importance of his period that induced the present writer to take up this subject, which proved in the end to be the most fascinating field that was ever found waiting for exploration by a historian. How far he has succeeded in his attempt it is for the reader to judge.

The author very much wished that he could have dealt with the whole of this intervening period. But with great disappointment, he had eventually to excise the earlier portion of it (namely the years 1716-1738), as there is very scanty material available. Whatever material exists, comes from Sikh sources, is based on tradition alone, with no contemporary evidence on record. Hence he has found 1739 as his most suitable starting point. It was in this year that the terrible Nadir, at the head of a numerous sturdy race of warriors, swept down the unprotected plains of India with irresistible violence. Not only did his campaign give the finishing stroke to the crumbling house of Babar, but it also brought to perfection the confusion and chaos prevailing in the country. It was now that the Hindu peasantry, crushed under the oppression of centuries, was disillusioned of the greatness of the mighty Mughals and as a consequence rose up in arms, out of sheer exasperation, against the Mughal Government. They joined the ranks of the Khalsa because they knew that these were the only people in the Punjab who could offer stout opposition to their oppressors. Consequently, the whole country between the Ravi and the Jumna was turned into a theatre of ceaseless struggle by a people fighting for independence. The present outbreak of the

Sikhs differed from those preceding it under Guru Hargobind, Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Bahadur, in this that whereas the latter were religious outbursts which had sprung up out of hatred and vengeance for the loss of their leader and their own oppression at the hands of the Government, the present struggle was a fight for the ideal of independence and sovereignty which the Sikhs had now placed before themselves.

The reason for selecting 1768 as the other limit of my enquiry is that this year witnessed the establishment of the Sikhs as a political and territorial power. They had successfully repelled the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali in the previous year. They had become undisputed masters of Lahore, the capital of the Punjab, and exercised sovereign power in the major portion of the province. They therefore stood between the Mughal Empire of Delhi and the Durrani kingdom of Kabul, and not only prevented the mutual contact of these two empires but also starved the Indian Muslim potentates by stopping the importation of fresh blood from the north-western regions to replenish their exhausted forces, and thus brought about their speedy death. This period therefore is the point of division between the disruption of the old Empire and the formation of the new kingdoms.

A word of explanation about the sources of this work seems desirable at this place. It is no doubt true that the documentary materials for this period are rather scanty. The court annals of Delhi refer only sparingly to Punjab affairs on account of the political and economic upheaval brought about by the constant foreign invasions, Maratha incursions and revolts of provincial governors. Continuous disturbances made memoir-writing either by

the governors of the provinces or by the high officials impracticable. Some personal memoirs were compiled by minor officials during the latter half of the 18th century, and such works are often genuine human documents vividly lighting up for us the atmosphere or social conditions of the age. The most notable of them are *Tazkirah Tahmasp Miskin* and Nur-ud-din's *Life of Najib-ud-daulah.*

Some writers and poets followed occasionally in the train of the invaders with a view to compiling accounts of their masters' brave deeds. While doing so they throw a flood of light on the condition of the country. The most important example of this class is Qazi Nur Muhammad's *Jang Namah*, preserved in a unique manuscript, which has unfolded for the first time the full details of the 8th Durrani invasion of 1764-65.

The Marathi news-letters and reports, written by the Peshwa's officials in the Punjab and Delhi, are also of the highest value as showing the other side of the shield. They are profuse in the wealth of details with absolutely correct dates and thus help to fill in the gaps in the existing Persian histories of the period. The letters sent by Antaji Mankeshwar and the Hingne family are indispensable. They have been printed by Parasnis and in the Bombay Government's admirable series of Selections from the Peshwas' Daftar, edited by Sardesai.

After the battle of Plassey (1757) the English became the masters of Bengal, and since then they evinced a keen interest in the affairs of Northern India. Numerous Persian letters were consequently addressed to the British Governor of Fort William by the Hindu and Muslim chiefs of note, and they supply us with valuable information and exact dates. At the time of the Durrani campaigns

numerous messengers were appointed to convey full details about the daily progress of the invader and of other events. Very minute and copious details are available about the last Durrani invasion of 1767. These letters have been translated and published by the Imperial Record Department.

A brief survey of all the works used in the compilation of these pages, is given in the Bibliography.

As to the scope of the subject, we may say that this short period of nearly 30 years is fraught with the most important and epoch-making events which ever took place in the history of the Land of the Five Rivers. It witnessed as many as ten foreign invasions from the dreaded Nadir Shah and his general Ahmad Shah Durrani, one Maratha incursion, the gradual but total collapse of Mughal rule in the province, the rapid growth of the newly formed Durrani empire, the life and death struggle of the two most eminent powers of the day, the Durranis and the Marathas, over the spoils of the once mighty empire of the Mughals, the sudden and serious set-back of the Maratha power at Panipat in 1761, and finally the rise of the insignificant Sikhs from nothingness into a sovereign power.

The story told in the following pages, therefore, is,on the one hand, one of the marchings and countermarchings, and of extremely painful and horrid deeds ever done by man to man; and on the other hand, it is also a wonderful record of the sufferings and hardships endured by the Sikhs in the cause of faith and freedom.

In the compilation of these pages the author has always kept in view the principle of going back to the

original. He has made use of all the contemporary materials as well as secondary sources of trust and value, available chiefly in unpublished Persian works and Marathi, Gurmukhi, Urdu, English and French records, mostly unused by any previous writer on the subject. No second-hand authority, however, has been given preference over a contemporary writer. The original authorities, on the other hand, have been subjected to a careful examination as far as possible. No pre-conceived notions have been allowed to interfere in the interpretation of facts. As a consequence of his researches, carried on for full four years, the writer has tried not only to supply a lost chapter of Indian history, but also to correct several prevalent errors and to establish a correct chronology.

The Sikhs seldom wrote their histories and the Hindus did not care much to record their doings. The Muslims took rather a prejudiced view of the Sikh deeds which mainly went against them.

Secondly, where old records exist, they are not always made available to the research student. Some of the material is in the possession of persons and Indian States who, for one reason or another, do not like it to be utilized by the student of history.

Then comes the difficult question of interpretation. In cases where complete histories are already available, new materials can be easily utilized ; but where the annals are meagre and fragmentary, as in the case of Sikh history in the 18th century, the task of the historian is extremely difficult. Moreover, most of his authorities are neither printed nor edited. He is expected to correct the wrongly spelt proper names, without having a second manuscript to collate with the one lying before him. Survey maps also

fail him in many cases in removing this difficulty, because the places once of note have fallen either into ruin or into insignificance.

Still more formidable was the lack of expert guidance, and so the author was almost entirely thrown on his own resources. There was the minor difficulty of language too. The materials lie spread over a wide range of languages, Persian, Marathi, Gurmukhi, Urdu, Hindi, English and French, and it was with some trouble that the writer managed to use the various works written in these languages. In the words of Sir Jadunath Sarkar, it is quite proper to say that " to expect perfection in such a branch of study is hardly more reasonable than to ask a goldsmith to give a proof of his professional skill by prospecting for gold, digging the mine, extracting and refining the ore, and then making the ornament."

In conclusion, it is the author's most pleasant duty to express his feelings of gratitude to his revered teacher, Professor Sita Ram Kohli, the veteran scholar of Sikh history, at whose suggestion and with whose valuable assistance he undertook and completed this task. The author owes a heavy debt of obligation to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, for his very kindly permitting him the use of his extremely valuable and rare manuscripts, most of which are either rotographs of British Museum manuscripts or copies of those in the India Office Library. He also generously placed at his disposal all other books he needed including his pencil translations of Father Wendel's " History of the Jats " and many Marathi records. His ungrudging help in discussing some of the topics with the writer proved of great use in clearing up many obscure points. His thanks are also due to Professor Sri Ram

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Sharma of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, for helping him on many occasions; to Principal Jodh Singh of the Khalsa College, Amritsar, for making Nur Muhammad's *Jang Namah* accessible to him, to Bhai Takht Singh of Ferozepur for permission to use the Bhai Dit Singh Library, and to Sardar Hira Singh Dard, Editor of the *Phulwari*, for lending him a copy of *Prachin Panth Parkash* and the old issues of his own journal.

LAHORE,
February, 1937.

H. R. GUPTA.

CONTENTS

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER I.

SIKH PLUNDERING BANDS, 1739-1745.

1. INTRODUCTORY

It should be remembered that the first efforts of the Sikhs for gaining power and independence commenced at a time when the Mughal Empire had lost its vigour and energy, and when internal turmoil, the conspiracies of an intemperate Court, the revolt of distant governors and the frequent irruptions of foreign hordes were fostering the pursuit of selfish interest and a general slackening of allegiance. These external advantages coupled with the intrinsic worth of the Sikhs enhanced their opportunities for the realization of their wishes. Firm faith and high hope on the one hand and power of resistance and tenacity of purpose on the other formed the main features of the Sikh character. The disabilities of the Sikhs at this period were not few. They were almost leaderless for want of a towering personality among them. Under a policy of ruthless persecution by the Government they were facing a strong economic depression, and having been driven away from their hearths and homes possessed no sure means of livelihood. To crown all, the public showed them no sympathy in their sad plight from fear of the Government of the day.

But their nascent religious spirit, strong enthusiasm for gaining freedom, and the close unity of brotherhood, maintained by common grievances, common feelings, a common object and utter poverty, kept them in a cheerful frame of mind under these desperate circumstances.

The year 1739 saw the beginning of a new series of foreign invasions from the north-west and now commenced the long and fierce contest which was to decide whether the Musalmans or the Sikhs were to rule the Land of the Five Rivers.

From this year began the first stage of the evolution of Sikh power, when they organized themselves into a body. Their strength was greatly increased as they were joined by numerous Hindus whose resentment at the oppression of centuries was suddenly excited by the appearance in the country of the overwhelming forces of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani. Severe persecution had already driven the Sikhs into hiding and utter necessity had forced them to adopt the life of petty robbers. They now rose as powerful freebooters and marauders, and having acquired sufficient force they set themselves up above law. They were defeated over and over again and were scattered to the four winds, but we find them still returning to their profession soon after the tempest had blown over.

2. Sikhs take Advantage of Nadir's Invasion, January—May 1739.

For a period of five months during which Nadir Shah was in India, the provinces of the Punjab, Sirhind and Delhi were thrown into great confusion.[1]

There was no civil government in the country except in name. The forces of disorder naturally made their appearance everywhere.[2] The Sikhs who had a fair

[1] Anandram, 21.

[2] "Muhammad Shah's superintendents and officials posted in the country lost all authority. The state affairs were managed by the agents of the Shah of Vilayat." Bakhtmal, 57. Cf. Malcolm's Sketch, 86; History of the Punjab, i. 183-84.

amount of organization took the best advantage of this confused and helpless state of the province. They were fortunate perhaps in having a few gifted and capable men among them, like Kapur Singh, Bagh Singh and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. They gathered together a large number of their co-religionists and impressed upon them the necessity of utilizing these opportunities to the utmost. To begin with, they fell upon the peaceable inhabitants of the Punjab, who had sought shelter in the hills and plundered them of that property which they endeavoured to secure from the rapacity of the foreign invader. Enriched with these spoils and emboldened by their exploits, they left their fastnesses in the hills and spread themselves over the north-eastern portion of the plains of the Punjab carrying fire and sword everywhere. They then threw up a small mud fort at Dallewal[1] to serve them as a place of retreat and refuge as also a store-house for their booty. It was from this base that the Sikhs sallied out to carry on their depredations. They committed highway robbery[2] and laid under contribution the neighbouring country of the Upper Bari Doab,[3] where their leader Banda had been arrested twenty-three

[1] Malcolm, 86; History of the Sikhs, i, 184 Dallewal was conveniently situated in the centre of a dense forest in the N. W. of Amritsar on the bank of the Ravi and commanded a rich and fertile tract of land called "Riarki".

[2] "The Sikhs blocked the miscellaneous ways on wayfarers and finding that the officers of Muhammad Shah had suspended their duties and that the administration in cities had fallen into disorder, they took advantage of the time, plundered large parts of the country and carried off booty." Bakhtmal, 57 Cf. Browne, ii. 13.

[3] Munshi Sohan Lal on p. 109 of his vol. i. makes the following observation:—"They (Sikhs) established themselves in the

years earlier and in the north of which they could seek easy shelter among the lower spurs of the Himalayas (in case of an emergency). Their task was rendered easier since Nadir Shah, in his advance to Delhi, took with himself the major portion of the provincial troops of the Punjab.[1]

Such times are always tempting to adventurous spirits, and led by the hope and prospect of plunder large numbers of dare-devils, as well as their old comrades who had converted themselves to Hinduism from fear of government persecution, joined the Sikh ranks.[2] Their position was thus strengthened and they succeeded almost in every undertaking. In order to perform their thanksgiving service, they frequently resorted to Amritsar the cradle of their faith.[3]

Bari Doab under the leadership of Bagh Singh Ahluwalia. They stopped the traffic, plundered and raided a large number of villaages and towns and exacted heavy tributes from the neighbouring zamindars. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the son of Bagh Singh's sister, a handsome and courageous youth, was his uncle's deputy and exercised full authority over matters and things concerning Bagh Singh. The other Sikh chiefs also accepted the leadership of the Ahluwalia Sardar and willingly worked under him. Thus the administration of the whole Doab seemed, at the time, to be passing into the hands of the Sikhs."

[1]This he did to avoid the danger of any attack from the rear. To secure further safety he had taken as hostages Hayatullah Khan son of Zakariya Khan, and Dalpat Rai son of the Lahore Minister Lakhpat Rai.

[2]Bakhtmal, 57.

[3]"Yet, while the Sikhs were undoubted robbers, and though cattle lifting was the one honourable profession amongst them, as on the Scottish border a few hundred years ago, their enthusiasm for their faith, their hatred to the Muhammadans, who had so long trampled them under foot, who had killed their prophets and

3. Sikhs Rob Nadir's Rear, May 1739.

The Sikhs seem to have grown so bold that they are reported to have fallen upon the rear of Nadir's army on its way back from Delhi and relieved them of a part of their loot from the treasures of the imperial capital. As soon as their scouts brought them the news that Nadir Shah had left Delhi on the 5th May, the Sikh leaders organized a number of light cavalry bands with instructions to hang upon Nadir's flanks and avail themselves of any opportunity of plunder that came in their way. They seized a large amount of booty. Nadir's soldiers being over-loaded with booty and oppressed by the terrible heat of May, could not pursue them successfully.[1]

Nadir Shah called a halt at Lahore where he was made aware of the losses his rear-guard had sustained on the way. He was very much enraged and made enquiries about the bold plunderers of his army. Ahmad Shah of Batala who compiled his account in the early years of the 19th century, reports the following interesting

thrown down their altars, gave them a certain dignity, and to their objects and expeditions an almost national interest." Griffin's Rajas, p. 17. Cf. Gordon, pp. 58-59.

[1] Forster, writing about 40 years later, has alluded to this incident in the following words:—"The Sicque forces appeared in arms at the period of Nadir Shah's return from Delhi, when the Persian army, incumbered with spoil, and regardless of order, was attacked in the rear by detached predatory parties of Sicque cavalry, who occasionally fell upon the baggage-guards, and acquired a large plunder." (Travels, i. 313.)

Besides acquiring plunder, the Sikhs are said to have succeeded in liberating a number of Indian boys and girls from the clutches of the invaders. (Gyan Singh, 623; Sidq Khalsa, 250); Jahankusha, 244.

conversation between Nadir Shah and the imperial viceroy Zakariya Khan in reference to the Sikhs :—

Nadir—Have you got any troublesome characters in the country ?

Zakariya—None, except a sect of Hindu faqirs, who assemble twice to bathe in a tank which they regard as a place of pilgrimage.

Nadir—Where are their places of abode ?

Zakariya—Their homes are the saddles on their horses.

Nadir—It seems probable these rebels will raise their heads.[1]

4. Restoration of Order after Nadir's Departure.

Khan Bahadur Zakariya Khan accompanied Nadir Shah as far as the river Chenab. Here he took leave of the invader who bestowed upon him as a parting gift many favours and a letter of recommendation to his imperial master for promotion.[2]

[1]Cf. Sohan Lal, Appendix to vol. i. 13; Ratan Singh, 282; Gyan Singh, 624-27; Sidq Khalsa, 251-56; History of the Sikhs, i. 184; M'Gregor, i. 115; Gordon, 58.

[2]Jahankusha, 244. Many historians credit Zakariya Khan with having secured from Nadir Shah the liberation of thousands of captives both Hindus and Muslims; but Khushwaqt Rai and the author of "Saadat-i-Javid" would make Lakhpat Rai share this credit with the Nawab Cf. Maasir-ul-Umara, i i. 106-107; Ibrat Miqal, i i. 15a; Khushwaqt Rai, 73-74; Saadat-i-Javid in Elliot, viii. 346; Anandram, 88. Muhammad Shah consequently promoted Zakariya Khan to be a 8-hazari with the title of Saif-ud-daulah II. He also added the province of Multan to his charge as Abdul Samad Khan had died. (Ibid, 85.) Zakariya Khan appointed his son Hayatullah Khan, popularly called Shah Nawaz Khan, to the deputy-governorship of this province. (Ibid, 93.)

Zakariya Khan was faced with a new situation. Nadir's invasion had put the machinery of government out of gear. Many of the principal towns and villages were deserted, and trade and business were brought to a stand-still. The Nawab, who was a good and kind ruler, set himself to the task of restoring peace and order in the country and adopted vigorous measures against the lawless people. Be it said to his credit that he proved equal to the occasion.[1]

5. PERSECUTION OF THE SIKHS.

The Khan Bahadur was made aware of the proceedings of the Sikhs and thus he believed that the Sikhs were the principal source of danger to the peace and progress of the country. Once again, therefore, he organized moving columns of light cavalry and put them in motion in pursuit of the Sikhs. Their fort of Dallewal was plundered and razed to the ground. Large numbers of them were shot down, while many others were brought in chains to Lahore where they were executed at a place near the Nakhas outside the Delhi gate, which afterwards came to be called Shahid Ganj.[2] Side by side with the military measures, the Government made use of its civil machinery. Instructions were issued to the local officials and village

[1]"Zakariya Khan took active measures for the repopulation of the towns and villages which had been devastated by the ravages of the Sikhs, and made 'takavi' advances to the agricultural classes to induce them to resume the cultivation of the land." Latif's History of the Punjab, 193. Besides, he tried to develop trade and business by establishing several new markets such as Mandi Usman, Mandi Lakha and Mandi Shalamar in Lahore and abolished octroi duties. (Cf. Sohan Lal, i. 103-104 ; Ahmad Shah, 627.)

[2]Ganesh Das, 198.

headmen to permit no Sikh to seek shelter within their jurisdiction. All evasions to these injunctions were severely punished. With renewed diligence, therefore, in the villages and towns, in the fields and woods, spies and informers plied their odious trade. Magistrates, commissioners and officers were once more on the alert.

When the enterprising Sikh leaders saw this determined attitude of Zakariya Khan, they quitted the Bari Doab and moved on to the Jullundur Doab. The Nawab, accordingly, despatched an experienced officer, Adina Beg Khan, with a large army, in pursuit of them to Jullundur. Adina Beg succeeded in restoring peace and order in the Doab, but he did not take any severe measures to crush the Sikhs and perhaps deliberately winked at some of their activities and permitted them to carry on so long as they refrained from creating serious disturbances within his jurisdiction.[1] The Khan Bahadur, however, could not rest contented till he saw the Sikhs turned out of his province. He issued strict orders to Adina Beg Khan to drive away the Sikhs. Though unwilling to do so, the Jullundur faujdar could not postpone this task for long. Consequently, he asked the Sikhs to vacate his territory. The Sikhs, on receiving these orders deputed Jassa Singh Thoka (afterwards known as Ramgarhia) as their vakil

[1] Diwan Bakhtmal on folios 58-59 writes :—" Adina Beg was a greedy man. He did not crush the Sikhs. If he had intended to do so, it was not a difficult task. But he had this idea in his mind, that if he quelled the Sikhs, some other contractor might be entrusted with the government of the Doab for a higher sum (of revenue) and he might be dismissed. He, therefore, treated the Sikhs well and settled terms with them. For this reason the Sikhs grew stronger and they gradually occupied many villages as Jagir." (Cf. Browne, ii. 14).

to settle terms with Adina Beg Khan. The latter, however, proved too clever for the Sikh vakil and succeeded in persuading him to accept an office under his government. The Sikhs felt dismayed at the conduct of their envoy and found safety only in crossing the Sutlej and entering the Sirhind Sarkar, where they created a serious situation for the Delhi government as we are given to understand by Harcharandas, who writes :—

" In 1740, one year after the departure of Nadir Shah, a large body of Jats and Sikhs gathered together and marched towards Sirhind, causing rebellion and disturbances. They chose a leader whom they styled as Daranat Shah and seized many villages. When this news was brought to the Emperor Muhammad Shah he appointed Azimullah Khan to chastise these rebels. Azimullah Khan arrived in that district, defeated and dispersed them and then retired to Shahjahanabad."[1]

The Government had now become active, and pressure was being exerted on the Sikhs from all sides. They were, therefore, forced to seek safety in flight. The Government issued for general information a regular schedule of *inams* for those who assisted in the work of stamping out the Sikh movement. One who cut off the hair of a Sikh was awarded blankets and beddings. One who supplied information as to the whereabouts of the Sikhs got ten rupees, and one who caught or killed a Sikh received fifty rupees. Besides, the plunder of Sikh homes was freely permitted by the Government. On the other hand the person who gave shelter to a Sikh was punished with death and one who did not inform the

[1] Ali-ud-din, 166 a ; Raj Khalsa, 10 ; Itihas-i-Ramgarhian, 410-411 ; Chahar Gulzar Shujai, 373 a ; Sarkar, i. 422-23.

Government when a Sikh came to him received the same punishment. Any one helping the Sikhs with grain and food was forcibly converted to Islam.[1]

In fact the entire official machinery was set in motion ; the chaudharis, the muqaddams, the non-official gentry of the towns, the rais and zamindars were by force and persuasion, all made to co-operate in this work.

Day by day the sufferings of the Sikhs increased and their number diminished, as men died of starvation, thirst, fever, heat-stroke, wounds and the merciless bullet. They were now obliged to quit the plains of the Punjab and to retire to their famous resorts in the Jammu and Kangra hills, deserts of Bikaner and Malwa and the Lakhi jungle. Again, many of them found salvation in giving up the outward symbols of their faith and joining the Hindu fold. Those who had recourse to none of these stratagems generally fell victims to the wrath of the state officers and the greed of their neighbours. The most cruel of these acts and one which stirred the Sikhs deeply was the execution of Bhai Taru Singh.[2]

6. Sikh Life in exile.

It is said that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church," and this is proved by the noble and manly

[1] Ratan Singh, 284-86 ; Gyan Singh, 623 ; Gordon on p. 59 of his History of the Sikhs writes :—

" A proclamation was issued by the Lahore Viceroy ordering a general massacre of the long-haired Singhs wherever found. They were hunted like wild beasts, a price being placed on their heads ; thousands were put to death, refusing pardon on condition of renouncing their faith and cutting their hair." Cf. Prachin Panth Parkash, 285.

[2] Ratan Singh narrates several incidents when the Sikhs were exposed to official wrath during the period. In some of these

testimony of the subsequent Sikh deeds. The thinning of the Sikh ranks by desertion and death did not damp the spirits of the genuine votaries of the Guru. They were either those persons who had served under the last Guru and Banda or the sons and other relatives of these. They had already seen much, suffered much, and borne much and every fresh oppression and hardship served to purify and invigorate their souls. Discipline, service and sacrifice was the motto placed before them by Guru Gobind Singh, and like true and faithful disciples, they worshipped this ideal. Zakariya Khan's bloody deeds only reminded them that their earthly belongings, bodies and souls were not their own, but the property of the Guru who had merged his personality in the Panth, and therefore every sacrifice made in the cause of the Khalsa brotherhood was to bring them the blessings of the Guru and thus to draw them nearer along the path of salvation. They came from that class which in times of

encounters the Sikhs are said to have come out very well. Prachin Panth Parkash pp. 315-20.

Taru Singh was a young Jat Sikh of 25, of village Poohla in Manjha, and used to help the Sikhs concealed in the jungle. He was arrested and brought to Lahore where he was offered the choice of accepting Islam or death. Taru Singh chose the latter alternative. He was tormented by the applicarion of the wheel. His ribs were broken, wrists were strained, joints grew loose, blood gushed out at many places and several bones cracked. For his again refusing the change of faith his hair with skin was scraped off his head. Taru Singh's half dead body was made over to the Hindus who took him to a dharamsala where he passed away after lingering for a few days. His remains were cremated in Shahid Ganj outside Delhi Gate. It took place on the 25th June, 1743.

(Khushwaqt Rai, 72; Sohan Lal, i. 108-9; Ratan Singh, 327-51; Gyan Singh, 644-56; Sidq Khalsa, 272-95.)

disaster is always privileged to suffer. But while they groaned they meditated, while they dreamt they hoped, while they suffered they laboured.

These Sikhs had to experience very hard times.[1] Persecuted, exiled, and tracked down like wild beasts, they kept themselves concealed during the day and came out at night in search of food. They lived on wild plants and fruit and flesh. Day by day their sufferings increased, but they remained firm in their resolution. During their days of oppression the Sikhs chose to beguile themselves in their own simple manner. They coined luxurious names for humble things of daily use as also contemptuous expressions for their enemies.[2] This is a striking feature of the Sikh life at this time, when they were suffering from an acute form of persecution. It shows that pain and suffering had lost all meaning to them and they could still enjoy bubbling humour and brightness and vigour of

[1] The miseries and misfortunes of the Sikhs were brought to the notice of Zakariya Khan and from time to time he enjoyed a farce by his court actors giving him an idea of the life and ambition of the Sikhs. On learning that they still cherished hope of seizing the government the exclaimed, "O God ! to eat grass and to claim kingship !" Khushwaqt Rai, 71.

[2] The arrival of one Sikh was announced as the advent of a host of one lakh and a quarter, five Sikhs declared themselves an army of five lakhs ; death was termed an expedition of the Sikh to the next world ; a blind man was called a wide awake hero ; a half-blind man was addressed as an argus-eyed lion ; a deaf man was a person living in a garret ; a hungry man was called mad with prosperity ; a stone mortar was named a golden vessel ; sag (a cooked preperation of green leaves) was green palao ; cooked meat was 'mahaparshad' ; pilus (the fruit of a wild tree) were dry grapes ; grams were almonds ; onions were silver pieces ; to be fined by the Panth for some fault was called getting one's salary ;

life. Poverty and hardship served a most useful purpose in uniting them with one another in the closest ties. All differences which arise between man and man in times of peace were effaced beneath the terrible levelling of the oppressor ; all men had become brothers and all women sisters. An iron will, an unbent spirit and unbounded enthusiasm for their faith were their rewards of this mode of living.

Another important characteristic of Sikh life in these days was the firm belief of the Sikhs in daily prayers. As their hardships grew greater, the more frequent became their prayers. This exercised a soothing influence on their suffering hearts, and drew them nearer to their ideal. *Ardas*[1] was the famous prayer regularly resorted to by the Sikhs. It reminded them of their goal and the sacrifices already made by the Gurus and other notable Sikhs for the sake of religion.

7. Sikhs begin to visit Amritsar.

The Sikhs in exile, as we have already seen, were firm in their resolution and steady in their will. They were nursing a grudge against the Government on account of their persecution and extermination. They regarded a dip in the holy tank of Amritsar as an essential preliminary to all their undertakings. Accordingly, the more daring

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to speak was to roar and a 'damri' (a copper coin worth one quarter of a pice) was called a rupee. On the other hand, a rupee was nothing but an empty crust; passing stool was to supply provisions to the Qazi ; and wherever they came across night soil they said that a Mughal was lying there.

Ratan Singh, 317 ; Gyan Singh, 629-30 ; Ali-ud-din, 210a-b and 364a.

[1] For the full text of *Ardas*, see "The Sikh Prayer" by Professor Teja Singh.

among the exiles began to pay visits to the tank[1] and the temple even at the risk of life. These enterprises of the Sikhs met with such an unexpected success that afterwards they made it a regular feature of their life to bathe in the tank and pay homage in the temple at Amritsar, twice a year on the occasions of Baisakhi and Diwali.[2]

8. Government policy of relaxation.

The revenues of the Punjab Government had been constantly falling since 1739 in consequence of the disorders created by the Persian invasion, the Sikhs and the Viceroy's light cavalry bands who marching in pursuit of the Sikhs had impoverished the peasantry by their extortion, particularly in view of the Government's failure to pay their salaries. When the Sikhs had been driven out of the plains of the Punjab and the normal state of affairs restored in the country, the provincial troops clamoured for their arrears. The treasury of the Government being

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[1]Khushwaqt Rai on folio 71 says:—"In the night or at any other time, when they got an opportunity, they bathed (in the tank of Amritsar) with the greatest hurry, fearing and trembling like a frightened prey in pursuit and then fled in any direction. In such flights, if any body, out of misfortune, happened to obstruct their progress, he had to lose his life."

"According to a contemporary Muhammadan author," says Malcolm on p. 88 of his Sketch of the Sikhs, "the Sikh horsemen were seen riding, at full gallop, towards their favourite shrine of devotion. They were often slain in making this attempt, and sometimes taken prisoners; but they used, on such occasions, to seek, instead of avoiding, the crown of martyrdom: and the same authority states, that an instance was never known of a Sikh, taken on his way to Amritsar, consenting to abjure his faith." Cf. Gordon, 59.

[2]Ahmad Shah, 962; Cf. Prinsep, 4. Ibrat Miqal, 18a.
"Every six months, crowds of the Sikhs resorted to the Holy Tank at Umritsir, and there held council among themselves;

empty no substantial revenue was forthcoming to meet their requirements. Hence Zakariya Khan threw Diwan Lakhpat Rai into prison for his failure to clear the dues of the army. Jaspat Rai secured the release of his brother Lakhpat Rai on a promise to pay the troops all their dues. He contributed a large sum of money from his personal treasure and then obtained an order from Zakariya Khan to check the accounts of all the court nobles in order to find out if they had paid all their dues to the state. First of all he approached Mir Mumin Khan, the leader of the Turani nobles at the court of Lahore. The Mir refused to allow him to examine the accounts of the proceeds of his lands. The Khan Bahadur administered him a sharp rebuke and the Mir felt so much frightened that he at once paid one lakh of rupees to the state treasury. This example was sufficient to make the other nobles pay large sums to the Governor and thus all the arrears were cleared.[1]

To regulate the finances of the province and to set them on a sound footing, it was thought proper to lease out the land to *ijaradars* (farmers of revenue). This measure, however, proved unwise and impolitic, as it let

they afterwards dispersed, and returned to the jungles. Many of the Zemindars in the Manja tract of country were related to the Sikhs, and concealed the latter when pursued by the Mussulmans; and in every village of this jungly tract, there were two or three Sikh horsemen quartered, and supported by the Zemindars, unless when they chose to provide for themselves by robbery and pillage. Thus protected, their apprehension became impracticable." M' Gregor, i. 114-15.

[1] Cf. Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, 51-52 a ; Adina Beg Khan and his revenue officer Bhawani Das were also imprisoned and punished. The latter was half boiled in a large kettle for his failure to pay the State dues. Ibid 52a-52b.

loose the forces of disorder in all parts of the province on account of the severity and mal-treatment of the zamindars by these revenue farmers.[1]

These arrangements had not been in force for long, when the Sikhs again began to make their appearance in the plains of the Punjab and they became so bold as to approach Amritsar, in the close vicinity of the provincial capital. It was a new problem for the Government to deal with. The adoption of the old policy meant nothing but the temporary suppression of the Sikhs, involving the risk of creating greater confusion and chaos by the organization of the moving columns of cavalry, incurring a great expense, and ruining the revenue. The Government, therefore, decided to try a policy of relaxation this time to see if the Sikhs would settle as peaceful peasants in the country. Accordingly, the Sikhs were given no molestation, even when they collected in large numbers at Amritsar in April and October, but were only scared away.[2]

9. Zakariya Khan Dies, 1st. July, 1745.

It is very interesting to note that throughout the period of their struggle for independence, the Sikhs were

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[1]Ahmad Shah, 838-39. Cf. Karam Singh, 140; M'Gregor, i. 114.

[2] Khushwaqt Rai, 71 :—"Diwan Lakhpat Rai and some other court nobles were posted at Amritsar at the head of a suitable contingent of troops on the Baisakhi and Diwali days. But the Nawab's orders were such as not to pick up a fight with this sect. They were to connive even if they (Sikhs) started fighting. They were to encamp at Ram Tirath and had to march upon the tank, beating drums, when the fair was at its height, so that the Sikhs might disperse of their own accord from tear of majesty and awe of the Government. When Khan Bahadur's

afforded unforeseen opportunities to rise after every attempt of the Government to annihilate them. Zakariya Khan died on the 1st July 1745. He was the last of the most popular Governors of the Punjab, an able and just[1] ruler who commanded respect from Hindus and Muslims alike. His death plunged the whole country into grief.

10. Appointment of a Punjab Viceroy Delayed.

On Zakariya Khan's death, the Delhi Wazir Qamr-uddin Khan appointed Mumin Khan, the most influential courtier of the late Governor, to officiate and then advised the Emperor to give the Lahore province to Yahiya Khan and that of Multan to Shahnawaz Khan.[2] Muhammad Shah did not like to make the Punjab a stronghold of the Turani party and therefore he rejected this proposal. The Wazir, however, was determined to keep the Punjab in his family and he secretly sent Yahiya Khan to take charge of his father's government. Shahnwaz also arrived at Lahore soon after and demanded a complete division of his patrimony. This settlement was delayed and the troops of both the brothers came to blows. Peace was in the end patched up. Shahnawaz Khan was paid a certain amount of cash and jewels, whereupon he withdrew to his faujdari in the Jullundur Doab. The

troops arrived near the tank of nectar some Sikhs took to flight without bathing."

[1]Cf. Saadat-i-Javid in Elliot, viii. 336-354. Anandram 139. (Cf. Khushwaqt Rai, 74 ; Sohan Lal, i. 109 ; Ahmad Shah, 836 ; Ibrat miqal, 54 b ;) Sarkar, i, 191.

[2]Zakariya Khan left behind him three sons ; Yahiya Khan, Shahnawaz Khan and Mir Baqi. They were all Qamr-ud-din's sister's sons, while Yahiya Khan was his son-in-law also,

Wazir then begged the viceroyalty of the Punjab for himself. After long hesitation and persuasion the Emperor agreed and appointed Yahiya Khan as the Deputy-Governor on January 3, 1746.[1]

11. The Sikhs Revive Their Strength.

In view of the growing trouble of the Sikhs it was essential that a strong and permanent viceroy should be appointed in the Punjab. The delay in such a serious matter and the hostilities between Yahiya Khan and Shahnawaz Khan resulted in destroying the peace and prosperity of the province. Disturbances cropped up everywhere. On the one hand the Raja of Jammu revolted and stopped paying tribute, while on the other the Sikhs created serious trouble.[2] The situation was further worsened by the discontentment of the Jat peasantry of the Manjha. They were ground down between the two mill stones of oppression. Heavy exaction by the revenue officials[3] and maltreament by the military contingents roaming about in search of Sikhs brought them nothing but ruin and dishonour.

The quiet and industrious Jats, so long as they were left to themselves by the Government, remained contented with their life as culivators of the field and never concerned themselves with the affairs of their neighbours. But the tyrannous rule of their rulers forced them to look towards the lawless Sikhs who apparently enjoyed every luxury of life. It is no wonder, therefore, that they

[1] Anandram, 289-95; Bayan, 160; Ashub, ii. 451; Siyar, iii. 12, Sarkar, i. 192-193.

[2] Anandram, 289; Cf. Sarkar, i. 193.

[3] Cf. Buti Shah, 255 b.

were tempted by the easier pursuit of robbery than by their own life of toil and trouble. Consequently, they took to rapine and plunder and as a bond of union sought fusion with the Sikhs. Their adoption of the new faith proclaimed that the ploughshare had been beaten into the avenger's sword. "The spirit of the revived sect," says Prinsep, "displayed itself at first in secret association and isolated acts of depredation. Bodies of armed men in tens and twenties, called Dharwee in the dialect of the province, that is, highwaymen, infested the routes of communication, attacked villages or plundered in towns, according as their local connections invited to either mode of seeking wealth or the means of support. The early neglect of the ruling authority enabled the associations to prosper, and the most successful chiefs purchased horses with the proceeds of their spoil, and mounted and armed their followers. Their example and success made the cause popular with the young and adventurous so that the number who took to these courses augmented daily until the chiefs formed their respective dehras or encampments in open defiance of the ruling authority, and sought celebrity by bold and hardy enterprizes, which gave security in the awe they inspired, while the wealth and reputation resulting afforded the means of further strengthening themselves."[1] People of all ranks and ages flocked in. Young lads were attracted to this life of independence either by a noble enthusiasm or by natural restlessness. Old men were brought together again by the renown of their successful exploits. Mingled with all these came many more who were seeking for licence and impunity amidst this confusion. Thus the sturdy, plodding

[1] Prinsep, 3. Cf. Ahmad Shah, 839-40.

race of hereditary cultivators, whose diligence had built up the agricultural system of the Punjab, became as skilful in the use of the sword as they were in the use of the plough.

12. Sikhs Organize Themselves Into Regular Plundering Bands.

It was about this time that the Sikhs felt the need of organizing themselves into small bands. They had to defend their person and property against a tyrannical Government. In order to popularize their faith, the needs of the individuals who were daily joining them had to be attended to. Their relations and friends leading peaceful lives in villages had to be protected, and those who opposed them had to be silenced. To follow a systematized course of plunder a plan of action had to be prepared, weapons and provisions had to be got ready. In a word organisation was needed.

It seems probable that the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar, their holiest place of pilgrimage, on the occasion of the first Diwali after the death of Zakariya Khan, which fell on the 14th October 1745, took advantage of the confused state of affairs at the provincial capital, to declare their new organisation after a Gurumata. They divided themselves into 25 groups, each consisting of about 100 persons.[1]

[1]This seems to be the first Gurumata regularly passed by the Sikhs after a long period of persecution. This wonderful institution gave each individual a personal share in the government, and thus placed within the reach of every Sikh the attainment of rank and influence.

Gyan Singh, 664-65. The following are the names of the leaders

These associations were united not only by religious ties but also by common interest, and therefore a system of general confederation for defence as well as for operations, requiring more than single efforts, came into existence.

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of these groups, some of whom have been mentioned in Griffin's works as is indicated below :—

1. Shyam Singh of Naroke in Sialkot distt. (Rajas of the Punjab, 464, f. n.)
2. Gurbaksh Singh of Kalsia. Cf. Chiefs and Families of Note, 83.
3. Karora Singh of Paijgarh, (Cf. Rajas of the Punjab, 464, f n.)
4. Karam Singh of Paijgarh
5. Gurdayal Singh of Dallewal.
6. Nodh Singh and
7. Chanda Singh of Suker Chak. (Cf. Punjab Chiefs, 11).
8. Kala Singh and
9. Khiyala Singh of Kang.
10. Dharam Singh Khatri of Bhatchang.
11. Bagh Singh. (Punjab Chiefs 386.)
12. Jassa Singh. (Cf. Rajas of the Punjab, 455).
13. Hari Singh. (Punjab Chiefs 385).
14. Chhajja Singh of Panjwar.
15. Dip Singh Shahid. (Chiefs and Families of note, 218).
16. Bhuma Singh. (Punjab Chiefs, 385).
17. Nawab Kapur Sidgh of Faizullahpur. (Cf. Punjab Chiefs, 321 ; Rajas of the Punjab, 461).
18. Jai Singh of Kanah. (Cf. Punjab Chiefs, 315).
19. Sada Singh. (Cf. Sudh Singh Dodia—Punjab Chiefs, 386).
20. Hira Singh Nakai. (Cf. Punjab Chiefs, 119).
21. Agar Singh.
22. Sukha Singh.
23. Madan Singh.
24. Bir Singh Mazhabi.
25. Karam Singh of Amritsar. (Karam Singh of Narli near Amritsar, Punjab Chiefs, 178.) Cf. Khushwaqt Rai, 81 ; Tarikh-i-Sidhu, 127 ; Shamshir Khalsa, 78.

Fighting and riding were the only qualifications required from an individual who came to seek recruitment under a chief, and the possession of a horse and a matchlock was his best recommendation, though in many cases they were assured of these things by the leader from the proceeds of his spoil. But such was the enthusiasm of these new zealots that being impatient of possessing a horse they did not wait for the expeditions but stole money from home, bought a horse and joined a Sikh band.[1]

The follower demanded nothing from the Chief except protection and permission to plunder. There was no question of pay. The Sikh religion at this time, being a pure theocracy, allowed no distinction of rank or position among its adherents. The members of a band, whether old or new, were meted out equal treatment by the leader as well as by the whole body of the Khalsa. The plunder collected during an expedition was divided among the chiefs according to the number of their followers, each of whom received an equal share of the booty.

This organization served the most useful purpose of producing leaders in abundance. Such heroes whose valour and ability directed the efforts of their suffering followers to a just though harsh revenge, arose in large numbers. These leaders were not created by some high authority but came to occupy this position as a matter of course, on account of their natural ability. If a Sikh, of however humble an origin he might be, possessed a daring spirit, ability to lead, quick perception, rapid decision, and undaunted courage, he was sure to gather round himself a number of followers.

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[1]Cf. Buti Shah, 308 a.
Cf. Aliuddin, 158 a-b.

The men of leading and independent spirit would secede from their old groups and easily form their own bands. This process was encouraged by the Khalsa brotherhood, and career was thrown open to military talent. Consequently, almost every village produced a sardar who attracted free-lances from the neighbourhood to join him.

This organization into regular bands may be taken as a significant starting point in the military career of the Sikhs. They had decided to carry on the war in guerilla bands, because they had realised that this form of warfare was the most effective and the least dangerous, and that success depended upon having confidence in their leader and reliance upon their comrades. This changed the character of the Sikh resistance. Not only did it make them a power to face their foes and to practise plunder but it also gave them an idea of organizing a multitude of plunderers into some sort of rude cavalry regiments which ultimately proved of immense value. It was enlarged and further developed and formed the basis of the first regularly organized national army of the community, popularly known as the Dal Khalsa, which we are going to study in the following chapter.[1]

[1] Cf. Malcolm, 89; History of the Sikhs, i. 186; Rajas of the Punjab, 16; Gordon, 59-60 and 70.

CHAPTER II.

THE DAL KHALSA, 1745-1748.

1. The Sikh Aggressions.

Under the impulse of a few successes which the Sikhs scored in their new role, they determined to punish their enemies. They now raided the villages of Nowshahra and Majitha and others, and killed Sahib Rai, Rama Randhawa, Karma Chhina, Harbhagat Niranjaniya, Qazi Fazil Ahmad Khan, Khokhar Shamshir Khan and many other Chaudharis and muqaddams, who had rendered active help to the Government against them. The towns of Batala, Jullundur, Talwan, Bajwara, Dhag, Manjki and Phagwara were also laid waste. [1]

These early successes led the Sikhs to undertake a bolder adventure. A band[2] of their daring youths disguised themselves as Mughal soldiers and entered the town of Lahore by the Mochi Gate, one evening, in the month of January. This being the coldest month in the year, the people of the city had retired to their houses early. The streets were almost deserted and the dim lights inside the shops and houses failed to disclose the identity of the intruders. The plunderers blocked all exits, put the shopkeepers to the sword and loading their horses with booty immediately disappeared. Before they left the town, some of the party managed to slay the Qazis and the Muftis, living in that quarter, as they had been instrumental in the punishments awarded to the Sikh captives.[3]

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[1] Gyan Singh, 664 ; Shamshir Khalsa, 78.

[2] Gyan Singh places this number at 5,000, evidently an exaggeration.

[3] Gyan Singh, 661-62.

2. Jaspat Rai slain by the Sikhs; c. March 1746.

After plundering Lahore the Sikhs joined the rest of their body lying concealed in the jungle on the banks of the Ravi. It was a dreary and arduous task for the pursuing Mughal troops with their loose trousers to pass through the thorny bushes over a marshy soil where the legs of the horses sank deep in the mud.[1]

Yahiya Khan, the Lahore Governor, on learning what had taken place in the Mochi gate bazaar of his capital, ordered Diwan Lakhpat Rai to take immediate action against the Sikhs. The Diwan sent a strong detachment of cavalry who succeeded in expelling the Sikhs from their swampy haunts and they now fled towards Eminabad. Jaspat Rai, brother of Lakhpat Rai, who was faujdar of Eminabad, lay encamped at village Khokharan, ten kos distant. The residents of Gondlanwala approached him complaining that 2,000 Sikh horsemen had suddenly fallen upon the village, and after driving away the flocks of sheep and goats of the village were slaughtering and eating them at Rori Baba Nanak. The Diwan sent them a

[1] As to the date of this event a word of explanation is necessary. All authorities accept that Jaspat Rai's murder took place when his brother Lakhpat Rai was the Prime minister of Lahore and that he wreaked a thorough vengeance on the Sikhs for Jaspat's blood. He held this office from 1726 to 21st March, 1747. and served under Zakariya Khan and Yahiya Khan. Ratan Singh on p. 372 places this incident in 1804 Samvat Bikrami (28th Feb. 1747 to 27th Feb. 1748) and Gyan Singh's date on p. 665 is April 1748. Both these dates, therefore, are evidently wrong. Aliud-din on folio 105b and Khushwaqt Rai on folio 74 put it in the reign of Yahiya Khan who was in office up to the 21st March, 1747. Following these two authorities I have accepted the date of Karam Singh Cf. Phulwari, October 1928, p. 988. Ratan Singh, 373.

word to return the goats to their owners and to depart immediately. The Sikhs sent him a reply that they had gone without food for the last two or three days and they expected to leave the place the next morning. The Faujdar again sent them strict orders to disperse at once. But the Sikhs would not move. Then Jaspat mounted on an elephant and launched an attack on the Sikhs with whatever troops he had with him. The Sikhs offered a stubborn resistance. During the course of the action, a Rangretta Sikh named Nibahu Singh caught hold of the tail of Jaspat's elephant, leapt up like lightning and cut off the head of the Faujdar. This was the signal for a general stampede of the royal troops.[1]

3. Lakhpat Rai's massacre of the Sikhs, c. April—June 1746.

On receiving the news of his brother's tragic end Diwan Lakhpat Rai swore vengeance on the Sikhs. He is reported to have taken a vow to destroy the Khalsa root and branch. With the approval of Yahiya Khan he arrested all the Sikhs of Lahore and slaughtered them at Shahid Ganj.[2]

[1] Ali-ud-din, 105 a-b; Ratan Singh, 374; Gyan Singh, 665-66; Khushwaqt Rai, 74. Baba Kirpa Ram, the religious preceptor of the Diwan bought the head of Jaspat Rai from the Sikhs for a ransom of Rs. 500 and cremated it at Eminabad where a Smadh (tomb) was built by Lakhpat Rai and where a well attached to it still exists.

[2] Ali-ud-din, 105 b; Cf. Khushwaqt Rai, 73.

The noted persons of Lahore such as Kaura Mal, Kunjah Mal, Dila Ram, Hari Ram, Kashmiri Mal, Surat Singh, Har Singh, Bhai Des Raj and Chaudhari Jawahir Mal formed a deputation and waited upon Lakhpat Rai to dissuade him from shedding the blood of innocent persons, particularly so on the sacred day of Amawash

The general body of the Sikhs had taken shelter in the swamps of the upper course of the Ravi. Yahiya Khan and Lakhpat Rai personally marched in their pursuit, and the Sikhs, keeping themselves concealed in the jungle, moved up the right bank of the Ravi into the north-eastern corner of the province. Several skirmishes took place in which the Sikhs were worsted because they were helpless against light artillery. At last they advanced towards Kanhwan (on the right bank of the old Beas, 10 miles south of Gurdaspur) where there was a thick forest abounding in wild animals.

The Sikhs maintained a guerilla warfare by concealing themselves in the day and harassing the enemy in the night. But their strength had begun to weaken. They were running short of provisions and ammunition. The wild game had grown scarce. Many were dying of starvation and wounds. A number of parents by securing pardon from Lakhpat Rai persuaded their sons to cut off their hair, to relinquish all other symbols of Sikhism and to revert to Hinduism. Others who had joined the Khalsa ranks for the sake of plunder came back, and resumed their peaceful avocations. But those who were true to the new religion remained steadfast.

Being extremely hard-pressed, the Sikhs one night decided to give their enemies the slip under the cover of darkness. A few of them who were ready to lay down their lives for their brethren raised loud shouts of "Wah Guru ji ka Khalsa, Wah Guru ji ki Fatah" and fearlessly dashed into the ranks of their foes. This attracted the

(9th April). Lakhpat Rai did not listen to them, burnt the holy book of the Sikhs and demolished their places of worship.

whole force of Lakhpat Rai to that particular spot and the other Sikhs succeeded in escaping towards Parol Kathooa.[1]

Lakhpat Rai, however, was soon upon them with definite instructions to all the chiefs, chaudharis and lambardars to co-operate with him. The hill people were to obstruct their progress in the north and to drive them away towards the plains, while the residents of the country along the foot of the hills were to cut off all ways of escape.

The hot pursuit on all sides compelled them to retreat and halt on the spurs of the Basohli hills (between Pathankot and Dalhousie on the Ravi) where the river swept through a deep bed between high banks. Here the Sikhs were brought to bay with the enemy behind them, high precipitous mountains in front, a hostile population all around, and a swift river flowing to their left.

Some Sikhs wanted to escape by crossing the river, but they were prevented from doing so by the strong current which foamed below and the sloping rocky banks of the nullah. Two of the young Dallewalia Sikhs jumped into the river to see if it could be crossed, but none of them was seen again. The Sikhs tried to ascend the hill which was in some parts perpendicular, and in others irregular in slope, but they made little-progress over this steep and slippery ground. Some of them succeeded in reaching the top but the bullets and stones of the hillmen made short work of them. The Sikhs, therefore, gave up all these attempts and hid themselves in all possible places which they could find.[2]

[1] Parol stands on the Bajoo river about 14 miles north-west of Pathankot and Kathooa on the Ravi 7 miles E. of Parol.

[2] Ratan Singh, 392-93.

Khushwaqt Rai gives a graphic account of their sufferings. He writes that the imperial troops, entering into every cave and crevice frightened them out and drove them into the plains towards Batala. All exits being blocked, Lakhpat Rai and Yahiya Khan fell on them and put four hundred Sikhs to the sword on the spot ; while about the same number of them were taken captives. Many Sikhs fell into the river Ravi, while a number of them jumped into a well to save their lives. Some of them cut off their hair in the twinkling of an eye and escaped in this changed appearance. Among the captives all those who shaved their heads and beards were allowed to depart ; while the hair of others was pulled off with their skin, and they were put to death with a thousand tortures. Scouts and military contingents roamed about in search of them, killing every Sikh they came across. Lakhpat Rai set five rupees as the price for every Sikh head. The Sikh ranks consequently thinned every day by desertion and death.

The Sikhs who had escaped this massacre ran towards the Beas which flowed at a distance of about twenty miles, fighting their way valiantly against their pursuers. They again suffered terribly in the passage of the Beas, a vivid picture of which is presented by Ratan Singh. He says that Lakhpat Rai overtook them when they reached the Beas. It was mid-day in the month of June. The river was flooded (from the melting of snow on the mountains). The enemy was in hot pursuit. No boats were available. The Sikhs prayed to the Guru and jumped into the river at Goindwal.[1] When they reached the

[1] The ferry of Goindwal was used for crossing the Beas till M'Gregor's times about the middle of the 19th Century. It was

opposite bank, they came upon a deep bed of sand three kos long. They were already dying of hunger and thirst and the pain of their wounds, and now the burning sand added to their torture. They tore out their turbans, tied the pieces to their feet and thus managed to cross it. Then they entered the Jullundur Doab and halted near a village. They had hardly begun to cook their food when Adina Beg Khan suddenly fell upon them. They also received the news of Lakhpat Rai's having crossed the Beas. So, they gave up cooking, started fighting and piercing through Adina's troops reached the Sutlej. Having crossed it at Tihara and applying cold water compresses on the way, they arrived in Malwa with great difficulty while Lakhpat Rai returned to Lahore.[1]

In this campaign large numbers[2] of Sikhs were killed and captured. The captives were brought to Lahore, dressed in paper caps and mounted on camels, and were beheaded at Shahid Ganj. Lakhpat Rai also issued a

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situated on the high road to Lahore about five miles beyond the present city of Kapurthala. Cf. History of the Sikhs, Vol. I. p. 5.

[1]Ratan Singh, 389-90. The Malwa Sikhs sympathised with their brethren of the Manjha and offered them their homes and nursed their wounds with care and devotion. The leaders with their surviving associates halted at different places. Sukha Singh stayed at Jaito, Jassa Singh at Kot Kapura, Kapur Singh at Dhing Wanjhuke, Hari Singh at Dyalpur, Charat Singh at Pakka Pathrala, while Dip Singh with his devoted band retired to the Lakhi Jungle and many other Sikhs stayed at Tihara and in the neighbourhood of Daroli. Gyan Singh, 678.

[2]40,000 according to Ratan Singh p. 394 and 7,000 as Gyan Singh states on p. 678. The former view is evidently exaggerated while the latter seems to be nearer correctness.

proclamation at the same time threatening to rip open the belly of any one taking the name of the Guru.[1]

Such strong measures checked the progress of Sikhism for the time being. The enthusiasm of the votaries of the Guru decreased considerably, and a large number of them who had joined their ranks more for the sake of plunder and love of dare-devilry than for their devotion to the Khalsa faith now began to desert the Khalsa Panth. Lakhpat had the satisfaction of wreaking a thorough vengeance for his brother's death.[2]

4. Civil War between Zakariya Khan's sons, 21st November 1746–21st March 1747.

The sufferings of the Khalsa were not, however, destined to continue very long, while retribution for Lakhpat Rai and an opportunity for the Sikhs were soon at hand. After about five months, Yahiya's younger brother Shahnawaz Khan rose in insurrection against him. He came to Lahore on the 21st November 1746, encamped near the Shalamar garden and through Diwan Surat Singh called upon Yahiya Khan to make a complete division of his father's property. Adina Beg Khan, Kaura Mal and Hashmatullah Khan also joined him.

[1] Ali-ud-din, 105 b-106 a; Cf. Prinsep, 4-5; Ratan Singh, 376-395; Gyan Singh, 667-679. (Lakhpat Rai also prohibited calling sugar-cane molasses as 'Gur' because it sounded as "Guru" and ordered the people to name it "Rori" which is still current in the Punjab. Ratan Singh, 378.)

[2] About this time Subeg Singh, the city Kotwal of Lahore who had been in the service of the Lahore Governor for a long time and who had often served as the Vakil of the provincial court to negotiate with the Sikhs, was along with his youthful son Shahbaz Singh tortured to death. For details see Ratan Singh, 321-27 and Gyan Singh, 634-37.

Yahiya Khan was not willing to pay him anything, while at the same time he avoided fighting. The discussion was prolonged and no decision was arrived at. The soldiers of both the brothers often came to blows. At last Yahiya Khan, with all his old and new chiefs such as Mumin Khan, Lakhpat Rai, Mir Ne'mat Khan and Mir Amin Beg etc. came out of Lahore and a sharp engagement took place. Yahiya Khan then ended the dispute by paying Shahnawaz Khan Rs. 600,000 from his father's treasure. The latter, thereupon, retired, towards Batala where he seized many districts belonging to Yahiya Khan and brought a number of neighbouring chiefs under his subjugation.

This annoyed the Lahore Viceroy and he prepared for another fight. Shahnawaz, on hearing of it, came to Lahore and encamped near the tomb of Hazrat Ishan. The battle began on the 17th March, 1747. Adina Beg led the attack and succeeded in forcing Mumin Khan out of his trenches. Next day Shahnawaz delivered the assault in person. Mir Mumin was defeated and captured. Yahiya's soldiers whose salaries had been in arrears for the past four or five months since the commencement of hostilities, flocked into the city and clamoured for the payment of their dues. They were easily seduced by Shahnawaz Khan. He entered Lahore quite unopposed on the 21st March, seized the property of Yahiya and took him captive.

Shahnawaz Khan settled himself securely in the office of the Punjab Viceroy " by removing from their posts all the old captains who had grown grey-haired in the service of his father and grandfather, and confiscated their houses and property ." He nominated Kaura Mal as his Diwan in the place of Lakhpat Rai and confirmed

the vigorous Governor Adina Beg Khan in the civil and military charge of the Jullunder Doab.[1]

5. Recovery of Strength by the Sikhs, November 1746—March 1747.

The civil war between the sons of Zakariya Khan which commenced in the month of November 1746 resulted in the dislocation of the governmental machinery. This period, therefore, not only gave the Sikhs much needed respite to recover their strength, but also proved favourable for their further rise. The training of the Khalsa in the school of adversity had produced that keen insight in them which is a rare gift of nature for enabling one to take the best advantage of his opportunities. The short interval of five months (July-November) while they were in Malwa had healed their wounds and calmed the horrors of the late war. At the break-out of the civil war they left their retreats and started paying visits to Amritsar. This was considered to serve a double purpose. The bathing in the sacred tank and prayers in the holy shrine of Harimandir would elevate their depressed spirits, enhance their enthusiasm and secure the blessings of the Guru. In the second place, it was to serve them as a rendezvous. Most of their co-religionists had scattered far and wide under the tyrannous rule of Yahiya Khan and it was essential to rally all the forces of the Panth before entering upon a fresh career.

[1]Sarkar, i. 194-5.

Kaura Mal was the son of Dalu Mal Khatri of Multan whose father and grandfather had been in the service of the Multan Governor. (Shah Yusaf, 55 a.)

Anandram, 289-95, 304; Muzaffari, Ashub, ii. 451-2; 73 a-b; Ibrat Miqal, ii. 55 a; Sohan Lal, i. 113-4; Ali-ud-din, 106 b; Khushwaqt Rai, 76.

The Muslim officials of the district were made aware of this move of the Sikhs. The Mughal Faujdar of Amritsar, therefore, erected four towers at the four corners of the tank with a view to keeping a sharp look-out on the Sikhs coming there to bathe. Armed police was posted there day and night with orders to shoot every Sikh approaching the tank. Sukha Singh, a prominent Sikh, volunteered himself to take the lead and resolved to bathe there in broad day-light. He dressed himself in Turkish uniform, came to the tank at mid-day, had a dip and went away showing his identity by taking off his turban. His example was followed by other Sikhs and soon the Khalsa of daring spirits began to pour into their holy city in groups of tens and twenties. This news quickly spread all over the country and the other Sikhs who had exchanged their swords for the ploughshare soon began to flock to the Khalsa ranks for the sake of acquiring rich booty. Their venture met with great success, because the district officer of Amritsar had to withdraw to Lahore in view of his scanty resources to cope with the serious situation, and perhaps the presence of his troops was required to fight on the side of Yahiya Khan.

The different bands of the Sikhs then sallied out of Amritsar and fell upon the Bari and Rechna Doabs like birds of prey. They let loose their vengeance to have its full play on the Government officials, especially those who had persecuted them. They soon succeeded in acquiring an immense booty, thus replenishing their exhausted stores and fully equipping themselves with arms, ammunition, horses and other necessaries.[1]

[1]Ratan Singh 313-14; Gyan Singh, 682.

6. THE SIKHS BUILD THE FORT OF RAM RAUNI AT AMRITSAR, *c.* 30TH MARCH 1747.

In the struggle between Zakariya Khan's sons Shahnawaz Khan had defeated his elder brother Yahiya Khan together with Diwan Lakhpat Rai and Mir Mumin Khan, all of whom had been imprisoned by him. Shahnawaz, as has already been remarked, had appointed Kaura Mal as his Diwan and confirmed Adina Beg Khan in the faujdari of the Jullunder Doab. Kaura Mal was a Khulasa Sikh [1] (believer in Nanak's religion without having adopted the tenets of Gobind Singh), while Adina Beg Khan had inclinations towards the Sikhs from policy. Out of regard for their patron who occupied the highest authority next to the Viceroy in the Punjab, the Sikhs decided to bring their plundering activities to a stand still, the more so because they really needed a breathing time and leisure to recoup. The government of Shahnawaz Khan was also not yet stable and his two advisers, Kaura Mal and Adina Beg, saw advantage in advising the new Governor to let the Sikhs alone. Naturally, therefore, when the Sikhs had no interference from the Government and when they wished to recoup, they were quiet.

In view of the approaching Baisakhi festival which was to fall on the 30th March all the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar, their religious capital, where they celebrated the occasion with great pomp and show after a long, stormy period of about twelve years. On this day a general assembly of the Khalsa was convened in which a *Gurumata* was passed to the effect that a fort should be erected at Amritsar. This wise step was taken because some work had to be provided for the Sikhs who did not

[1] Forster, i. 314; Malcolm, 91; Ratan Singh, 397.

want to go to their homes and who could not reconcile themselves to a life of inactivity after having been diligently employed for a long time. Moreover, they were not sure how long they were destined to enjoy peace with the Government in those troublous times.

In spite of the two disadvantages, that Amritsar was situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the provincial capital (30 miles north of Lahore), and that it stood on the Grand Trunk Road, thus falling on the way of forces marching between Lahore and Delhi, it was selected as the future site of their military capital as well. There were several factors in favour of such a choice. It was considered by the Sikhs as "the Guru's Kashi" and it was believed that any Sikh who died there would go straight to heaven. It stood in the centre of the Manjha, their real home, surrounded on all sides by a thick forest of *Palas* trees, and thus they could count on a friendly population and a safe retreat in times of emergency. Moreover, they could closely watch the policy of the Lahore court and the movements of its forces.

The Sikhs, therefore, started the work of construction, after the festival was over. Its foundation was laid near another holy tank named Ramsar, two miles distant from Harimandir. A two yards wide foundation was dug. The Sikhs themselves were the masons, carpenters and labourers. All the four walls of the fort were started at the same time and special provison was made for the gates and towers. A deep and wide ditch was excavated around the fort. It was named "Rauni" and the fort was called "Ram Rauni"[1] (God's shelter). It was a

[1]This fort is wrongly called by M'Gregor, on p. 131 Vol. 1 of his History of the Sikhs as "Ram Rouree," by Kanhya Lal in his Tarik-i-Punjab on p. 73 as "Ram Rathi", and by Sir Jadu Nath

small, mud-built fort with an accommodation for 500 men. The reason for such a small undertaking seems to be the idea of not rousing the jealousy of the Government officials, It was a fort for them ; but it looked like the house of a big zamindar securely built and properly protected, the more so because it had extensive fields on all its sides in which wheat, gram and mustard were cultivated in winter and fodder in summer. After the completion of the fort, the Sikhs set to beautify the temple and the tank. Hari Singh Bhangi was also allowed to establish his Katra or residential quarters in the vicinity of the tank of nectar.

7. SHAHNAWAZ KHAN'S GOVERNMENT.

Having placed his brother in confinement, Shahnawaz Khan usurped the government of the province in March 1747. The new Governor is described by all contemporary writers as a man of intemperate habits and bloodthirsty character. The author of Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi depicts him as more cruel than even Nadir Shah. His administration was marked by excessive tyranny and oppression. He would often inflict very severe and inhuman punishments for trivial faults. The punishment of amputation of limbs and putting out of eyes was not uncommon. We are given to understand by the writers quoted below that the Nawab's cruel administration drove a good many peasants from peaceful pursuits to lawless habits. [1]

on p. 426 of Vol. 1. of his Fall of the Mughal Empire as "Ram Roti".

Khushwaqt Rai, 83 ; Ratan Singh, 398-400 ; Gyan Singh, 683-84 ; Raj Khalsa, 3 ; Prinsep, 9.

[1] Ashub, ii. 451-52 ; Bakhtmal, 60 ; Khushwaqt Rai, 76 ; Sohan Lal, i, 114 ; Ahmad Shah, 857 ; Ali-ud-din, 106 b.

The usurpation of the Punjab Government could not be brooked by the Delhi court, but no drastic action was taken against Shahnawaz Khan because the Wazir Qamar-ud-din Khan first wanted to secure the release of his son-in-law Yahiya Khan, who, in case of the despatch of a force from Delhi might be put to death. The Wazir wrote several conciliatory letters to Shahnawaz Khan demanding the liberation of Yahiya Khan, but he always replied that Yahiya's freedom from captivity depended on his own confirmation in the Viceroyalty of the Punjab under a royal rescript. [1] Shahnawaz Khan's hopes of reconciliation with his maternal uncle, the Delhi Wazir, were, however, dashed to the ground with the escape of Yahiya Khan by the end of July. He made one more effort by sending his ambassador to the Emperor with the request that his misdeed should be forgiven and that he be appointed as Deputy-Viceroy under the Wazir. The envoy reached Delhi on the 3rd September 1747 but nothing came out of this embassy. Shahnawaz Khan now felt sure that the retribution of the Emperor and his Wazir must fall upon him. Consequently he turned his mind in all directions to secure support. At this juncture the political horizon of India was suddenly overcast with clouds, and once more was the kaleidoscope to re-arrange its disc and glasses.

8. First Durrani Campaign, December 1747–March 1748.

Nadir Shah was murdered on the 9th June 1747 and his ablest general Ahmad Shah Abdali, also known by the

[1] Ashub, ii. 452 ; Bayan, 161 ; Ibrat Miqal, ii. 55a.

title of the Durrani,[1] rose to power and founded an independent dynasty in Afghanistan. Having driven away Nasir Khan, the old Mughal Governor of Kabul, retained in his office by Nadir Shah, he pursued the retreating Governor as far as Peshawar, and with this place as a suitable base, "the man-power of Afghanistan" behind him and no hindrance in front, the loot of India, the Eldorado of the Western people, became his ruling passion.

Shahnawaz Khan, as we have stated above, was in search of a strong ally in order to secure his position in Lahore. He hailed the presence of Ahmad Shah Durrani in Peshawar and appealed to him for help against the Emperor of Delhi in fear of the consequences of his act. Ahmad Shah, encouraged by the unparalleled success of his first efforts, at once accepted his invitation in view of the utter weakness of the Delhi Empire which he had himself seen when in attendance upon Nadir Shah. Consequently, he left Peshawar by the middle of December 1747, and arrived at Shahdara, 4 miles west of Lahore on the 8th January 1748. In the meanwhile a change had taken place in the attitude of Shahnawaz Khan. The Delhi Wazir availing himself of his relationship wrote to his nephew conciliatory and flattering letters and appealed to his sense of honour and patriotism. This touched the young Governor's heart, and he prepared to oppose the invader whom a little while before he had invited.[2]

[1] For details about the origin of the titles of Abdali and Durrani, see R. C. Temple's note in Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII September, 1883, p. 259 and J. A. S. B. Vol. XLIX. p. 95.

[2] The author of Siyar accuses Adina Beg of having persuaded Shahnawaz Khan to invite the Abdali and at the same time communicating the fact of the court of Delhi. (Cf. Siyar, iii. 9, 16-17).

Ahmad Shah tried his best to bring Shahnawaz Khan back to his allegiance, but failed.[1] He therefore, crossed the Ravi on the 10th January and took up his position at the Shalamar Garden. An engagement between the Afghans and the Mughals took place on the 11th January in which Shahnawaz Khan was defeated and he fled to Delhi in the course of the same night.

The Abdali plundered the outer portions of the capital, particularly Mohalla Mughalpura, the richest part of the town, but spared the city for a ransom of 30 lakhs. The whole baggage of Shahnawaz Khan, consisting of camp equipage, artillery, elephants, camels and horses, fell into the conqueror's hands and considerably augmented his military resources. The Abdali stayed in Lahore for over a month to make the necessary arrangements for his march on Delhi, and leaving Jumla Khan[2] of Kasur as his Governor in Lahore he left it on the 19th February.

The flight of Shahnawaz Khan to Delhi had stirred the indolent Emperor, his Wazir and the court into activity, A huge army of 2 lakhs under Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan was despatched to check the progress of the Afghans. The imperialists arrived near Sirhind on the 25th February, and to their utter amazement found that Ali Muhammad, the governor of the place, had deserted his post to avoid a conflict with his Afghan brother and fled to Aonla in the

[1]Ahmad Shah had sent Harun Khan and Sabir Shah as his envoys to Shahnawaz Khan one ofter the other; but the former was dismissed in disgrace and the latter was executed. (Bayan, 163-164; Siyar, iii. 17; Muzaffari, 74 a; Husain Shahi, 20; Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 6.)

[2]Zilla Khan of Elliot, VIII. 106 and Jali Khan of Sohan Lal i. 123,

Bareilly district. They decided to make Sirhind the base of their operations and before proceeding further they left their heavy baggage, surplus stores of arms and ammunition and their women including the Wazir's harem in the small fort of Sirhind with a garrison of 1,000 horse and foot.

The imperialists committed a fatal blunder in deciding to cross the Sutlej, not by the direct route at Ludhiana, but at Machhiwara, 20 miles north-east. A still greater folly was displayed in not maintaining their communications with Sirhind, in not posting a guard at the Ludhiana ford and in not collecting intelligence about the enemy's movements. The enemy on the other hand was extremely agile and vigorous and maintained absolute secrecy about their movements and whereabouts. The Abdali reached the Sutlej opposite Ludhiana on the 1st March 1748, forded the river unopposed, covered the distance of 40 miles in the night, and at dawn on the 2nd March took the fort of Sirhind. He put the garrison to the sword, seized all the stores of war materials and reduced the women to slavery.[1]

Great was the loss of the imperialists and still greater their dismay when they heard about the capture of Sirhind. They returned from Machhiwara to Manupur (10

[1] "Abdali had ordered his troops to slay every Indian whom they might find in their camp or in the plains, so that not a single spy of the Wazir or of any other noble who went out to scout returned alive". (Mujmil, 101, ; Cf. Sarkar, i. 218.)

Abdullah Khan and Faizullah Khan, the sons of Ali Muhammad Rohilla, kept as hostages by the Wazir in the fort, were also taken by the Abdali in his train and were released in October 1751. (Gulistan-i-Rahamat, 25 and 45-46).

miles N. W. of Sirhind) where they sighted the roving bands of the Afghans and took up an entrenched position. The Abdali kept Sirhind as his base and entrenched his camp 5 miles N. W. of Sirhind. Frequent skirmishes took place in the beginning. In the morning of the 11th March when the Wazir was about to lead the imperial army for a general attack, he was mortally wounded by a cannon shot. Calling his son Muin-ul-Mulk he said, "My son ! I am done for; it is all over with me. But the Emperor's work is not yet finished. Before this news spreads, quickly take horse and deliver the assault. After that you may look after me." (Anand, 347.)

The Wazir then expired. Muin repressed his filial feelings, rode on his father's elephant with his banners and led the attack. In the centre was the Prince with Muin in front, on the right wing was Safdar Jang, and Ishwari Singh on the left. The Durrani resorted to strange tactics. 1,000 horse suddenly appeared before each wing, delivered a sharp volley and gradually fell back retiring to the rear, making room for fresh contingents to advance. In this way fresh and vigorous men came to the front every time. Under these new tactics the left wing gave way and the Rajputs were indiscriminately massacred. The thickest contest raged in the centre. Muin's skin was grazed, his brother was shot in the foot, Adina Beg was twice wounded and many officers of note were slain. The right wing heroically fought and drove away the Afghans. Safder Jang then came to the rescue of Muin. Just at this time the Durrani store of rockets and gunpowder caught fire and killed 1,000 Afghans on the spot. The Durranis thus caught between the jaws of a nutcracker fled from the field, and the Punjab was thus recovered for the Mughal Empire.

The imperialists did not take advantage of this victory by immediately following up the enemy. It was only five days after the battle (16th March) that the Indians ventured to march out of their camp. Ahmad Shah Abdali had already left for home and so the imperialists enjoyed a holiday on the banks of the Sutlej till the 12th April, when Prince Ahmad Shah left for Delhi and Muin-ul-Mulk for Lahore to take over charge of his new post as Governor of the Punjab.[1]

9. Peaceful Progress of the Sikhs.

In the last chapter we left the Sikhs as having settled either in their homes or at Amritsar where they had commenced building the Ram Rauni fort. The Sikhs who had dispersed to their villages did the most useful work in peacefully propagating the tenets of Guru Gobind Singh. The simple peasants and other villagers had also seen with their own eyes how the Sikhs were augmenting their power even when they seemed to be beaten down to the dust. Whenever the Sikhs came back to their homes they became the centre of all affairs. The stories of their sufferings and heroic deeds were on everybody's lips. They were surrounded by the village youths who listened to their adventurous deeds with zeal and rapt attention. They joined them in playing games, in wrestling matches

[1] Ahmad Shah, 7-20; Anandram, 34-77. Mujmil, 101-12; Bayan, 164-67. (all contemporary) Cf. Amira, 97-8; Zafar Namah, 4 b-12 a; Siyar, iii. 18-19; Hussain Shahi, 27-30; Muzaffari, 74a-b; Shive Parshad, 14 b-15 a; Imad, 59a-62a; Chahar Gulzar, 426 b-427 a; Chahar Gulshan, 16 a; Chahar Chaman, 165 b-166 a; Tarikh-i-Salatin-i Afghanan, 148; Ibrat Miqal ii. 56 b-57 b; Mustqim 298 a; Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 7-8 Tarikh-i Ali, 126; Ali-ud-din, 108 a-109 b; Sarkar, i. 211-33.

and in hunting expeditions. The poor men and women thronged at their doors begging alms. The suffering persons sought redress at their hands, because the Sikhs had established it as the foremost principle of their religion to help the poor and the needy and to redress the grievances of the oppressed. These were the causes which were paving the way for the Sikh religion to make it a mass movement among the peasantry of the central Punjab. When the Sikhs returned from their homes either to Amritsar or to some other rendezvous they were followed by a number of village young men to be baptized to Sikhism and recruited to the Khalsa ranks. This is borne out by the fact, as we shall study later on, that the band of a Sikh leader consisted mostly of the young men of his own village and the villages of his relations and friends.

Thus, this period of seven months (May—November) was most usefully spent. The Sikhs of Amritsar leisurely finished the Ram Rauni fort, adorned and magnified their temple and tank, and constructed a *katra* (residential quarters) in its immediate neighbourhood.

Early in November strong rumours of the impending Durrani invasion spread all over the country. The Sikhs rose up in arms once more. They sent their women and children to the hills of Jammu, Chamba, Kangra and Hoshiarpur as the other inhabitants were doing, and then gathered at Amritsar pretending to protect their holy places from desecration. On the commencement of hostilities between Ahmad Shah Durrani and his namesake the Delhi Prince, the Sikhs decided not to co-operate either with the Mughals or with the Afghans because their struggle

lay against both.[1] The Sikhs seem to have retired to the northern parts of the Bari Doab where their depredations remained for the time unchecked. Thus they busied themselves in settling old scores with their enemies and in acquiring immense booty, and "made themselves masters of a considerable part of the Doab of Ravi and Jalendar, and extended their incursions to the neighbouring countries."[2]

10. Sikhs fall upon the retreating Afghans, c. 18th—26th March 1748.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was defeated by the Imperialists on the 11th March. He crossed the Sutlej at Ludhiana on the 17th March and retired towards Lahore in a hurry in order to avoid any pursuit. He took his goods and property from Lahore in all possible haste and by rapid marches travelled to Afghanistan.

The Sikhs had known all about it and resolved not to let the vanquished general pass through the Punjab unmolested. They fell upon his rear-guard at many places till he reached the Chenab acquiring good booty in the shape of baggage, arms, camels and horses.[3]

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[1]Abdali might have opened communications with them because he was short of men and badly needed fresh troops on whom he could lay his hands in India ; but we do not come across any reference to it.

[2]Cf. Gyan Singh, 684 ; Shamshir Khalsa, 85. Malcolm, 91.

[3]Sohan Lal, i. 127 ; Ahmad Shah, 862 ; Griffin's Rajas, 457. (Bakhtmal, 65 says that the Sikhs kept up the pursuit to the Indus. This view seems rather inflated. At this stage of their power they could not venture to thrust themselves in the midst of a hostile population. Moreover they had to attend the Baisakhi festival which was fast approaching.)

II. THE DAL KHALSA ESTABLISHED: 29TH MARCH 1748.

We have seen in the previous pages that in 1745 the Sikhs had formed themselves into small bands, in which they welcomed all the fresh recruits and supplied them with arms and horses. The leaders, being guided by their personal ambition, had been so far content with small scale operations. They had no occasion to unite their forces, except in the small Ghallughara, where also they had not fought under the command of one supreme leader.

Even in the absence of the unity of command, the enthusiasm and endurance of the Sikh soldiers were great. With the training of half a century, they had become born warriors who despised death, believed in War as the honourable profession for man and regarded hand to hand fight much in the same way as an Englishman regards football or racing. The Sikhs were sober and strong, and their scorn of danger was only equalled by their unlimited pride in themselves and their inborn hatred of the Musalmans. Guerilla warfare, ambushes, sniping and decoys were their favourite tactics and they preferred destruction to surrender or captivity.

Their small scale organization had shown its obvious advantages. They had learnt to exercise foresight, to submit to command, and to conceive of large purposes. The leader who had felt the joy of command was rewarded by the implicit obedience, unflinching faith, constant attention of his followers, and perhaps by a larger share of the spoil. The men whom he had led to victory were devotedly attached to him. They had one common

grievance against the oppressors of their faith, and one common bond of union, their faith. The leader, enriched by the booty, was in a position to strengthen more securely the tie between him and his followers, by occasional gifts and presents, and a further continued succession of fortunate expeditions and conquests resulted in binding them permanently.

In the progressive state of the Khalsa another development was bound to take place in the course of time. It was uniting the whole body of the fighting Sikhs in the form of a standing national army. Its idea had been supplied to them in a concrete form by Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Bahadur. Experience in contending with their enemies had taught them the need of some measure of union. The odds were so heavily against them that uniting and acting in one body and one principle was with them a law of necessity. Being surrounded with dangers their only hope of success lay in unity, as this was the sole means of their preservation.

It was due to these causes that some of the far-seeing, talented Sikh leaders realized the need of widening the circle of the attachment existing between the soldiers and the Sardars in each group, and this could be effected only by uniting them under one supreme command, thus binding each individual not only with his colleagues and the chief but also with the whole "Panth". It was also felt that the independent position of as many as 65 chiefs,[1] whose number was rapidly increasing, would not lead to any solidarity in making them a power without taking such

[1]The following names are reproduced from Ali-ud-din, folio 110 a-b. Some of them have been traced in Griffin as is mentioned below. Cf. Sohan Lal, i. 127-28.

a step. On the other hand there was the danger that the feelings of jealousy and selfishness might arise among them if they were allowed to follow their own line of action.

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1. Hari Singh Bhangi of Panjwar. (Punjab Chiefs, 385).
2. Jhanda Singh of Panjwar. (Punjab Chiefs, 386).
3. Ganda Singh, of Panjwar. (Punjab Chiefs, 386).
4. Natha Singh. (Punjab Chiefs, 365).
5. Gulab Singh.
6. Charat Singh. (Charat Singh Kanhaya, Punjab Chiefs, 339).
7. Diwan Singh.
8. Gujar Singh, 9. Garja Singh and 10. Nibahu Singh, sons of Natha and Lalan of village Bhurisal. (Sarja Singh, a follower of Charat Singh, Sukerchakia, died in 1763, Punjab Chiefs, 308).
11. Lahna Singh of Mustafabad near Kartarpur.
12. Phula Singh Roranwala.
13. Sanwal Singh Randhawa of village Bagha.(Punjab Chiefs, 207)
14. Gurbakhsh Singh of Doda. (Punjab Chiefs, 212).
15. Dunba Singh of Kalalwala. (Dhanna Singh, Punjab Chiefs, 151).
16. Tara Singh of Chainpur. (Tara Singh of Mananwala settled at Narli in Amritsar. Punjab Chiefs, 177).
17. Bagh Singh of village Sayyid Mahmud.
18. Haqiqat Singh and 19. Mahtab Singh,sons of Chaudhari Baghela. (Punjab Chiefs, 321).
20. Jai Singh of Kanha (Punjab Chiefs, 315).
21. Jhanda Singh of Kanha (Punjab Chiefs, 315).
22. Tara Singh and 23. Manohar Singh; sons of Harso of village Kanha.
24. Sobha Singh and 25. Bhim Singh, nephews of Jai Singh Kanhaya.
26. Amar Singh Bagha. (Punjab Chiefs, 83 & 305).
27. Sobha Singh of Bhika.
28. Nawab Kapur Singh, son of Nathu of Faizullahpur. (Punjab Chiefs, 321 ; Rajas of the Punjab, 461).
29. Baghel Singh of Jhabal.
30. Gulab Singh Dallewalia.
31. Hari Singh Dallewalia.

Luckily for thė Sikhs, a very capable leader who commanded high respect from all the Sikhs and who possessed remarkable powers of organisation had appeared

32. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia
33. Nodh Singh Sukerchakia (Punjab Chiefs, 11).
34. Gulab Singh, father-in-law of Nodh Singh.
35. Mahtab Singh.
36. Karora Singh.
37. Haro Singh.
38. Lajja Singh. (Punjab Chiefs, 543).
39. Nand Singh Sanghania. (Punjab Chiefs, 171).
40. Kapur Singh Sorianwala.
41. Amar Singh Kingra.
42. Sahib Singh and 43. Jiwan Singh of Qila Jiwan Singh. (Sahib Singh Sialkotia, Punjab Chiefs, 386).
44. Dip Singh. and 45. Natha Singh, Shahid. (Massy, 218-19).
46. Mohar Singh Raniyanwala.
47. Mahan Singh Raniyanwala.
48. Bagh Singh of Lankafrankiya.
49. Jhanda Singh Sultanona.
50. Mirza Singh Kalhon. (Punjab Chiefs, 230).
51. Sham Singh Man of Bulaqi Chak.
52. Mala Singh of Bulaqi Chak. (Punjab Chiefs, 452).
53. Bahal Singh of Sheikhupura.
54. Amir Singh of Sheikhnpura.
55. Hira Singh. (Punjab Chiefs, 119).
56. Ganga Singh.
57. Lal Singh.
58. Amar Singh.
59. Mahtab Singh.
60. Rup singh.
61. Anup Singh Nakai.
62. Dasaundha Singh. (In Adina's service 1730-58; Punjab Chiets, 217).
63. Tara Singh Ghaiba. (Massy, 323).
64. Dharam Singh Khatri of Amritsar.
65. Sukha Singh of Mari. (Massy, i. 192).

among them. This was Jassa Singh Ahluwalia,[1] who had received his training under the famous leader Nawab Kapur Singh. The Nawab was the most venerable Sikh leader. Owing to the constant help and guidance of the Nawab and his own sterling virtues, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had come to occupy a very prominent position among the Sikh leaders. The Nawab was growing old and he wanted to give the leadership of the warlike Khalsa to somebody else. He had his eye on the promising Jassa Singh and he was on the look-out for an opportunity to do so.

This opportunity came handy on the retirement of Ahmad Shah Abdali from the province. On the sacred day of Baisakhi, 29th March 1748, the Sikhs assembled at Amritsar. It was on this occasion that Nawab Kapur Singh impressed upon the assemblage the need of solidarity of the Panth, and placed Jassa Singh in the supreme command of all the Sikh forces. The entire fighting body of the Sikhs was given the name of "Dal Khalsa." There were eleven leaders of most prominent ability among the various Sikh Chiefs. Hence the 65 groups were leagued together in eleven main divisions, each with a distinguishing title and banner, but varying in strength :

[1] Jassa Singh was the son of Dyal Singh, a Kalal (distiller of wine) of village Ahlu near Lahore, and was therefore called Ahluwalia. He was born in 1718 A.D. Nawab Kapur Singh took a fancy to him when he was a boy of 15, administered him pahal and appointed him to feed the Sikh horses with grain. In manhood he became a youth of tall stature and wonderful physique, so much so that his breakfast consisted of two pounds of butter and a good quantity of sugar, while he could devour the meat of half a goat at one meal. (Ratan Singh, 265-66; Gyan Singh, 571; Raj Khalsa, 370).

1. The Ahluwalia Jatha under the leadership of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, who, in addition to it, held the chief command of the "Dal Khalsa" at the time of any expedition or battle.

2. The Faizullahpuria or Singhpuria Jatha under the renowned Nawab Kapur Singh of village Faizullahpur.

3. The Sukarchakia Jatha under Nodh Singh of of village Sukarchak in Gujranwala, District.[1]

4. The Nishanwala Jatha under Dasaundha Singh, the standard-bearer of the Dal Khalsa.

5. The Bhangi Jatha under Hari Singh Bhangi.

6. The Kanhaya Jatha under Jai Singh Kanhaya of village Kanha in Lahore District.

7. The Nakai Jatha under Hira Singh Nakai of village Baharwal in Chunian Tahsil of Lahore District.

8. The Dallewalia Jatha under Gulab Singh of village Dallewal near Derah Baba Nanak on the Ravi.

9. Dip Singh's band which came to be called afterwards the Shahidi Jatha, on account of their leader's martyrdom, while fighting against the Afghans, as we shall see later on.

[1]This Nodh Singh was the great-grand-father of Maharjah Ranjit Singh. Soon afterwards he met with death in a cave where he had taken shelter against the Mughal soldiers who, failing to drive him out, set fire to the cave. He was succeeded by Charat Singh, then only 14 years old. (Ali-ud-din, 203b).

10. The Karora Singhia Jatha under Karora Singh of Paijgarh.

11. Unit of Nand Singh Sanghaniya, afterwards known as the Ramgarhiya Jatha.[1]

12. Constitution of the Dal Khalsa.

It seems idle to give the name of a constitution to the crude system of an overwhelming state of alliance and dependence established by the Sikhs on this occasion. We should not expect any elaborate plan worked out by the simple illiterate tillers of the soil, as we are accustomed to find it in the enactments of Legislative Councils or in the regulations of religious preceptors. The existence of such a scheme, as was adopted by the Sikhs on this occasion, may be better traced in the dictates of common

[1] Bhuma Singh, who was very much addicted to taking 'bhang' (hemp), was the leader of a band, and as he was given the title of 'Bhangi' on account of this habit, his band also came to be called the Bhangi Jatha. Hari Singh had succeeded him on his death.

Hira Singh was called Naki because he belonged to the tract called Nakka, situated to the south of Lahore. Cf. Karam Singh, Phulwari, May 1928, p. 573, and Punjab Chiefs, 170. Cf. Bakhtmal, 66; Khushwaqt Rai, 103; Sohan Lal, i. 110; Browne, ii. 16 (who gives Chirsah Singh for Charat Singh, Tokah Singh for Sukha Singh, and Kirwar Singh for Karora Singh, as the confederates of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia). Sarup Lal's Tarikh-i-Sikhan, 2; Tarikh-i-Patiala, 52.

These divisions, on having entered upon territorial acquisition, came to be called "Misls" from an Arabic word which means likeness. This word was used by the Sikhs for each division, because its foundation was based on the principle of equality.

human nature. The system was not devised or purposely adopted and therefore it was rather temporary and incom plete. Every Sikh who believed in the tenets of Guru Gobind Singh, was considered a member of the Dal Khalsa without any need being felt to secure his willingness. It was thought compulsory for each individual to enroll himself in the Khalsa army in order to wage war against the enemies of his faith and his persecutors and therefore each Sikh who was true to his faith, was supposed to have become a member of Dal Khalsa. But nobody was admitted a member of any unit, which constituted the Dal Khalsa, unless he was an active horseman and proficient in the use of arms. Every individual, even of the meanest birth, had the right of choosing the leader he would serve.

The joint forces of the several sub-divisions took the field either upon any predatory enterprise or to offer a bold front to the enemy. On these occasions the army assumed the denomination of the Dal Khalsa. The chiefs had agreed by common consent that at such times some one from among themselves should be appointed from time to time to be the head of the Dal to guide them in all matters requiring united action, while the other ten chiefs were to constitute an advisory body or Council of war.

Their unity was further maintained by the gatherings of the whole body of the Sikhs called the 'Sarbat Khalsa' twice a year at Amritsar on the occasions of the Baisakhi and Diwali festivals, which generally fall in April and October respectively. At these times the Sikh chiefs held a special council under the presidentship of the chief leader and passed resolutions (Gurumatas) on matters of more than ordinary interest to the panth. The Akalis,

or men wholly and solely devoted to war and worship, formed the central league of the Sikh religion. They had the sole direction of all religious affairs at Amritsar. All the cases of irregularity were referred to them and thus they played the part of the defenders of the faith. They were stern zealots who maintained the purity of the Sikh doctrines, watched over the general conduct of the Sikhs by exercising a fierce scrutiny as censors and took a prominent part in conducting the National Councils. They initiated converts, imposed fines upon those who broke the laws of the community, and in the event of disobedience prevented them from performing worship or going through any religious ceremony at Amritsar.

Thus a kind of federal union was established and the leader of the Dal Khalsa was looked upon as the head of the Church and State. Whenever there was no emergency, each division acted independently, or in concert, as necessity or inclination suggested. Each Sardar of a division was to lead his followers in warlike activities, and act as arbiter in times of peace. The Sardar did not exercise absolute authority over his comrades. They paid him due regard and treated him with respect ; but they were under no obligation to obey him beyond what was required in the interests of the whole panth, or of their division or their own mutual advantage. The chiefs, therefore, were forced on all occasions, to be very careful in looking to the wants and wishes of their followers, and in treating them with attention and conciliation. It was only in this way that they could retain them in their service, otherwise a little indifference on their part was sufficient to cause their desertion and going over to another chief, who was ever ready to accord them a warm welcome.

This was the reason that even the humblest Sikh in the Dal Khalsa was happy because he was free from all kinds of tyranny and violence from his chiefs and therefore even the lowest Sikh horseman usually assumed an independent attitude of mind.

Thus this system of voluntary service secured not only good treatment from the chiefs but also a share in the booty or land. All the booty taken was divided proportionately among the chiefs, according to the number of their followers, and they in turn sub-divided it among their men. This was the remuneration for their services in the absence of any fixed salary.

Distant relations and friends of the Sardar of the unit formed a link between the highest and the lowest Sikhs. There existed, therefore, no wide distinction between them. All possessed the same descent to boast of and the same exclusive profession of arms. Moreover, there was the strong bond of brotherhood according to the commands of the last Guru and as found in the bond of pahal. They also fought in the same cause and suffered from the same grievances. Thus they developed a similar type of mind and character.

The Sikh chiefs who were at the head of the various units of the Dal Khalsa were really great soldiers and men of insight. They possessed a mind that planned broadly, grasped tenaciously and saw clearly. Every one of them was going to be the master-builder in consolidating the Sikh power. He needed tools on which he could absolutely rely. These were supplied to him by the soldiers under him. They all had ambition and therefore they obeyed him, followed him and helped him, and thus the

Sardar as well as the soldier, united in one common object, passed on from glory to glory.[1]

The foundation of the Dal Khalsa was a step of the greatest significance in the history of the Sikhs, because it united them once again in a compact body after a period of 32 years. It served the most useful purpose of giving the Sikhs an ideal of unity and power, in keeping them bound together by the common tie of faith in the teeth of the severest persecution, and in making them a disciplined body. They had realized that obedience to their leader was a religious duty, as a commandment of the Guru, imposed upon them by the Panth, in whose body the Guru had merged his personality; and every sacrifice made for the Panth was the real service of the Guru. This singleness of purpose and harmony made themthe strongest military body of the day and prepared the way for their establishment as a political power.

[1] Cf. Ahmad Shah, 966-68; Sohan Lal, Appendix to Vol. i, 14 M' Gregor, i, 118-19; Cunningham, 111-18; Latif's Punjab, 290; Gordon, 73-78, Raj Khalsa, 382.

CHAPTER III.

THE SIKHS AND MUIN-UL-MULK,
(April 1748—November 1753).

1. MUIN-UL-MULK TAKES CHARGE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB, APRIL 1748.

The organization of the Sikhs into a strong military unit proved its sterling worth immediately after its inception. Their new constitution had supplied the Sikhs with the necessary material in anticipation of their need, before the difficulties arose. The Sikhs had expected that the demoralised Court of Delhi would appoint a weakling like Yahiya Khan or Shahnawaz Khan to the governorship of Lahore and they in their organised form would carry everything in their way. Their hopes were therefore high and their enthusiasm exalted when they found themselves once more united into a power as they had been in the past under Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Bahadur.

In this expectation they were, however, to be sorely disappointed. The dying Emperor Muhammad Shah had displayed genuine statesmanship in appointing the hero of the battle of Manupur and the vanquisher of the Afgan invader to the government of the most turbulent frontier province. Muin-ul-Mulk, popularly known as Mir Mannu, the son of the late Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan, on account of his great valour, strict discipline and wise diplomacy, was thought to be the best choice in order to inspire awe in the mind of the future invaders from the North-west as well as among the refractory peasantry of the Punjab.

He took charge of his new government by the middle of April, appointed Kauramal as his Diwan and confirmed Adina Beg Khan in the faujdari of the Jullundur Doab.[1]

2. MUIN'S DIFFICULTIES IN HIS NEW GOVERNMENT.

Muin did not find his government a bed of roses. The civil war between Yahiya Khan and Shahnawaz Khan, the sons of the late Viceroy Zakariya Khan, had denuded the treasury of its riches and had also dislocated the finances of the country. The invasion of the Durrani which had followed close on the heels of the civil war, had further aggravated the political misery. The Sikhs and other lawless people had found favourable opportunities in these upheavals and had consequently extended their depredations on a large scale. The constant fear of the renewal of the Afgan invasion added to Muin's difficulties. Besides the troubles in his own government, Muin-ul-Mulk was unfortunately called upon to provide against the machinations of Safdar Jang, (the new Delhi Wazir), who was bent upon bringing ruin on the Turani party and who found in Muin a future rival to his own position at the Court of Delhi, as the latter, besides his personal ability, had claims for the wazirship through his late father Qamr-ud-din Khan.

To equip himself against these difficulties Muin seems to have thought of one remedy, namely to possess a well-organized army. Accordingly, he raised troops, mostly Turks of Central Asia, belonging to his own race, who were roaming about in search of jobs after the disruption of

[1] Khazana-i-Amira, 98; Khushwaqt Rai, 70; Ahmad Shah, 863-64; Shah Yusaf, 55b.

Nadir's army (June 1747) and on whom he could best rely.[1]

3. Punitive expeditions against the Sikhs, c. May–June 1748.

Amongst the factors disturbing the peace of the province, the Sikhs were the most troublesome. They naturally required the first attention of the new Governor. Accordingly, when Muin set himself to the task of restoring peace in the country, he started despatching punitive expeditions in pursuit of the Sikhs. The laurels which he had won at the battle of Manupur had already inspired awe in the minds of the Sikhs, and therefore they retreated before his contingents. They evacuated the Bari Doab and entered the Jullundur Doab, where they received friendly gestures from Adina Beg. But Muin was a different man from some of the previous Governors whom Adina Beg had been able to hoodwink. Muin issued strict instructions to Adina to curb the Sikhs, and Adina Beg, though reluctantly, led an expedition against them. In the engagement that followed both the parties lost heavily, the Sikhs alone leaving 600 dead on the field of battle. Adina Beg Khan, in view of the superior numbers of the Sikhs, gave up the pursuit and applied to Muin for reinforcements.[2]

[1] Two Turki jamadars, Sabat-ud-din Beg and Muhammad Nazir Beg came from Multan to Lahore at this time to seek service under Muin, and presented him three Turki boys aged eight or nine years. (Miskin, 47-48). One of them named Tahmasp Miskin, who rose to be a Delhi peer, dictated in 1782 an absolutely original and most valuable account of the Punjab events for the following fourteen years. (British Museum Persian Ms. 8807. Sarkar copy cited).

[2] Sohan Lal, i. 127-28. Browne, ii. 16. Ibid; Bakhtmal, 67; Sohan Lal, i. 128.

4. Siege of Ram Rauni Fort.
c. October 1748-February 1749.

In the meantime the rains had set in and all further operations were suspended for about three months (July-September). The Sikhs also did not disturb the Government and confined their activities only to the sub-montane region in the north of the Bari and Jullundur Doabs. It was an article of faith with them, as we have had occasion to observe before, that they must celebrate the Baisakhi and Diwali festivals at Harimandir. Consequently, in the month of October, on the occasion of the Diwali, the Sikhs once again took the risk of assembling at Amritsar. They bathed in the tank, said their prayers at the temple, illuminated the whole place and made offerings to the Holy Granth. All this they did, but they were not indifferent to the impending danger from the Government of Muin-ul-Mulk. Accordingly they proceeded to make provision against it. 500 of them took shelter within the fort of Ram Rauni, while the rest hid themselves in the neighbouring jungle with a view to rendering help to the garrison in an emergency.

Khushwaqt Rai, the author of *Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Punjab*, on folios 83-84 continues the story in the following words:—
"Nawab Mir Mannu, on hearing of this news, marched with troops to chastise them. Under his orders, Adina Beg Khan also joined him. Having arrived at Amritsar they laid siege to the fort of Ram Rauni which is now known as Ramgarh. The siege continued for four months and daily skirmishes took place.[1] During this period two hundred Sikhs out of the garrison were killed. The rest

[1]Ratan singh (401) says that Muin's troops were very much harassed by the night attacks of the Sikhs who came in large numbers to succour their brethren in the fort

wrote to Jassa Singh Thoka (carpenter) who was in the service of Adina Beg Khan, that he, being on the side of the Muslims, was the cause of their ruin, and if he did not come that day to their help he would never be allowed to be re-admitted into their church. Jassa Singh, on considerations of his co-religionists, deserting Adina Beg Khan entered the fort in the night.[1] It strengthened the perseverance of the besieged. At this time Kaura Mal who was a believer in the religion of Nanak Shah, was the Diwan. Jassa Singh sent a message to the Diwan, 'The garrison can secure relief only through your efforts. If you try, three hundred lives can be saved.' Kaura Mal made a request to the Nawab, saying, 'The Sikhs always cause confusion and disorder. It will be advisable, if you settle something as subsistence for these people. They will not create disturbances afterwards, and I will be responsible for it.' Adina Beg Khan, however, dissented. Muin said, 'Whatever Kaura Mal does, is always to the advantage of the Government.' Adina Beg Khan remarked, 'Goodness to the evil-doers is doing evil to the good people.' The Nawab replied, 'It is better to stitch the mouth of a dog with morsels.' He approved of Kaura Mal's suggestion, granted them one-fourth of the revenue of the parganah of Patti and came back to Lahore. Kaura Mal took a number of Sikhs into his pay and showed them all indulgence. Being a believer of the Guru he paid the Sikhs a fine of Rs. 5 per day for smoking."[2]

[1] Jassa Singh had been excommunicated from the Khalsa brotherhoood for killing his daughter (Ratan Singh, 402 ; Gyan Singh, 687) and probably for deserting them when deputed to Adina Beg Khan. Jassa Singh headed a contingent of 100 Sikhs and 60 Hindus on this occasion. Ratan Singh, 402 ; Gyan Singh, 687.

[2] Khushwqt Rai, 83-84. Cf. Ratan Singh, 400-404 and Gyan

5. SIKHS SETTLE DOWN TO A PEACEFUL LIFE c. FEBRUARY-DECEMBER 1749.

The conciliatory policy of Diwan Kaura Mal brought in a short period of respite in the history of the Sikhs. Many of them accepted service under the Diwan while others took to a peaceful life at home. The patronage of the Diwan further reacted upon the attitude of the local officials both Hindus and Muhammadans, and the Sikh peasantry in the villages were no longer harassed by them. During this period of peace, which extended over a year, the Sikh ranks were further strengthened, since the non-Sikh peasantry and the village menials also began to join their fold in the hope of receiving the favoured treatment meted out to them. This was also made possible by the fact that the commonwealth of Guru Gobind Singh recognized no caste restrictions amongst the members of the church.

6. MUIN-UL-MULK'S PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES.

Though the Sikhs had become quiet, yet the government of Muin-ul-Mulk, on their part, did not neglect to provide against the danger from the Sikhs. The use of artillery was considered to be very effective in the desultory warfare against the Sikhs. This branch of the army service was consequently strengthened and re-organized. A new type of light guns known as jizairs (long firelocks)

Singh, 684-87. ("It is supposed", says Forster, i. 314, "that their force would then have been annihilated, had not this people found a strenuous advocate in his minister Korah Mal who was himself of the Khualasah sect, and diverted Meer Munnoo from reaping the full fruits of the superiority he had gained". Cf. Malcolm, 91-92.)

was manufactured by the State and a troop of 900 such gunners was soon added to the army at Lahore.[1]

7. Sikhs plunder Lahore during the second Durrani Invasion, December 1749- February 1750.

The peace between the Government and the Sikhs did not, however, last long as there had been no change of heart on either side. Muin knew that the Sikhs who had been a constant thorn in the side of the Lahore Government were not going to settle down so easily ; while on the other hand the Sikhs were looking with suspicion at the war preparations of the Viceroy in manufacturing jizairs and training a corps of jizairchis under his own personal supervision. Both the parties, therefore, were nursing a grudge in their hearts. It also seems possible that the Sikhs were feeling tired of their inactive life at Amritsar. Most of their leaders were realizing that living on the dole of the Government for the destruction of which they had been organized by Guru Gobind Singh, was a matter of great shame for them. They were also thinking that they were not taking advantage of their recent organization and on the contrary were losing the gains which they had won during their past struggle of half a century. They were therefore looking out for an opportunity for becoming their old selves again, and it was soon afforded to them by the fresh invasion of Ahmad Shah. The Durrani crossed the Indus by the middle of December 1749 and ravaging the country on the way

[1] Cf. Miskin, 67-68. The author further tells us that the Governor Muin-ul-Mulk took a keen interest in watching the exercises and manoeuvres of these new troops and bestowed prizes silver bangles and gifts on the jizairchis with his own hands.

halted at Kopra on the left bank of the Chenab. Muin-ul-Mulk quickly moved from Lahore and encamped at Sohdara (4 miles east of Wazirabad).

Abdali addressed a letter to Muin demanding to be assigned the revenues of the 'four mahals' for the future and paid the arrears since the time of Nadir Shah. Muin, apprehensive of the weakness of his military resources, forwarded the letter to the Emperor at Delhi, begging reinforcements and thus prolonged negotiations evidently to gain time. But great was his surprise when he learnt that the Emperor had granted the invader the revenues of the four mahals.

Muin was conscious of the limitations of his military resources. He yielded to the demand of the Durrani by ceding to him the revenues of Sialkot, Aurangabad, Gujrat and Pasrur, valued at 14 lakhs of rupees a year. Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had led this expedition only with a view to forming an idea of the military strength of the hero of Manupur, abstained from attempting to force his way into the country and retired to Kandahar.[1]

The invasion of the Durrani and the occupation of the forces of the Lahore Viceroy against the invader were a signal for the Sikhs to start on their business. In large numbers they gathered at Amritsar and decided to attack Lahore by way of washing off their sin of having accepted a favour at the hands of the Mughals. Consequently, they

[1] Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, 46-48; Miskin, 53; Bayan, 174-175; Zafar Namah, 20a (all contemporary) Cf. Khazan-i-Amira, 98; Maasir-ul-Umara, i. 360; Siyar, iii. 29-30; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 80a; Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 151-53; Irshad-ul-Mustqim, 294b; Ibrat Miqal, ii. 61b; Ali-ud-Din, 111a; Shah Yusaf, 55b-56a; Elliot, viii. 114-15; Sarkar, i. 417-19.

fell on the capital in a huge body and plundered and burnt the outer portions of the city to ashes. Nawab Kapur Singh then entered the town and took his seat on the platform of the Kotwali, apparently to get a portion of the revenues of the city. Izzat Khan, the acting Deputy of Muin, came with his troops to fight, whereupon Kapur Singh left the place and retired out of the city.[1]

8. Renewal of Sikh Persecution, *c.* March-June 1750.

When Muin came back to Lahore he was very much enraged to see the suburbs of his beautiful capital pillaged and ruined by the Sikhs. Therefore, to start with he confiscated their jagirs and stopped their allowance. Then he ordered his jizairchis to pursue the Sikhs and slay them wherever they were found. The eye-witness Miskin in his Tazkira on folios 68-69 makes the following observation :—"Muin appointed most of them (jizairchis) to the task of chastising the Sikhs. They ran after these wretches (up to) 28 kos (in a day) and slew them wherever they stood up to oppose them. Everybody who brought Sikh heads (to Muin) received a reward of Rs. 10 per head. Anybody who brought a horse (belonging to a Sikh) could keep it as his own. Whosoever lost his own horse by chance in the fight (with the Sikhs) got another in its place from the Government stable." Muin thus succeeded in executing thousands of Sikhs, but, says a Muslim historian, "The arrow once shot and the time once passed cannot be recalled, the city was ruined."[2]

[1] Khushwaqt Rai, 82 ; Ali-ud-din, 111b.

[2] Miskin, 68-69. This kind of warfare with the Sikhs continued for about four years. Ali-ud-Din, 111b.

9. Nasir Khan's rebellion, July 1750.[1]

The sufferings of the Sikhs were not destined to last very long as Muin-ul-Mulk was called upon to divert his attention to a more serious menace, created by the rebellion of his trusted officer, Nasir Khan, the governor of the 'four mahals.'

Nasir Khan, the ex-Mughal Governor of Kabul and Peshawar, came to Muin to seek employment. Muin was glad to have such an experienced administrator under him and appointed him to the administration of the 'four mahals.'

[1]Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar in his "Fall of the Mughal Empire", i. 416, assigns this event to July 1749 as the probable date. The actual date of this occurrence came nowhere to my notice in any original work. Following the order of events described by two contemporary writers as given below, I place it one year later, i.e. July 1750.

(i) Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi.—(1) Abdali's II invasion, folios 46-48; (2) Nasir Khan's rebellion, folio 65; (3) Shahnawaz's revolt, folios, 67-68.

(ii) Miskin's Tazkira.—Abdali's II invasion, folio 53: Nasir Khan's rebellion, folios 54-57; Shahnawaz's revolt, folios 59-62.

Sir Jadu Nath in the same book on page 427, following Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, folios 83-84, says that when Ahmad Shah Abdali wrote to Muin in December 1751, demanding the revenues of the four mahals, the latter replied "that Nasir Khan, who had administered the four mahals during the first two years, had run away with all the revenue collected during that time and that he himself could pay the tribute for the only year that he had held the tract." It clearly shows that the four mahals remained in possession of Nasir Khan from 1748 to 1750 and in Muin's own occupation from 1750 to 1751.

It transpired later that he was in league with the Delhi Wazir Safdar Jang, who out of envy and hatred for the Turani party of which Muin was a prominent leader, wanted to oust Muin and instal Nasir Khan in the Lahore viceroyalty. Nasir Khan increased his army and seduced 1,000 of Muin's Mughalia troops by temptation of higher salary. This ungratefulness offended Muin, who marched against him and having defeated him near Sialkot, dismissed him in disgrace to Delhi.[1]

10. Revolt of Shahnawaz Khan, *c.* September 1750.

Muin was hardly free from this trouble when he was called upon to face another danger, namely the revolt raised by Shahnawaz Khan, who had been appointed to the independent charge of Multan by the Delhi Wazir, thus depriving Muin of a great part of his administrative charge. He was also prompted to oust Muin by a definite promise of appointing him the viceroy of Lahore.[2] Shahnawaz increased his army to 15,000, and then on a pretext of paying homage to the tomb of his father, requested Muin to permit him to come to Lahore. The latter was willing to grant this request provided he would come unattended by his troops. Shahnawaz showed an insulting attitude and Muin prepared for war.

This created a serious situation for Muin. There was the danger of the Sikhs who might take advantage of the

[1] Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, 65; Miskin, 55-57; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 80a; Sarkar, i. 416; Farhat-un-Nazirin, in Elliot, viii. 166.

[2] Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, 67-68; Miskin, 59. It may be remarked that though Shahnawaz was a scion of the Turani party, yet he had recently embraced the Shia religion and thus had become a co-religionist of the Wazir.

absence of his troops in Multan. His Diwan Kaura Mal advised him to enlist the Sikhs in his army for this occasion. But Muin had a lurking suspicion against them. On being reassured he permitted Kaura Mal to recruit them. Accordingly Kaura Mal took a strong body of the Sikhs with him to Multan.[1]

A sharp engagement took place between the opponents. Shahnawaz Khan fought bravely, but was ultimately defeated and killed.[2] Kaura Mal cut off his head and sent it to Muin, who being pleased with his Diwan's splendid achievement, conferred upon him the title of Maharajah and installed him in the subordinate governorship of the Multan Province.

The services of the Sikhs were highly rewarded by Kaura Mal who retained a number of them in his service at Multan and also secured for them a jagir worth about a lakh and a quarter of rupees a year from Muin in the parganahs of Chunian and Jhabal in the Lahore District. The Sikhs afterwards gathered at Amritsar on the occasion of the Diwali and Nawab Kapur Singh started a free kitchen with the income of the jagir.[3]

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[1]Ratan Singh, 404 ; Gyan Singh, 690 Shamshir, 87 place this number at 10,000. They also supply further details about the payment to the Sikhs. The daily wages of a footman were 8 annas, of a horseman one rupee and of a chief five rupees.

[2]The grave of Shahnawaz Khan exists in the east of Multan near the tomb of Hazrat Shams Tabriz. (Sohan Lal, i. 131).

[3]Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, 67-68 ; Miskin, 59-62 ; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 80a ; Khushwaqt Rai, 84-85 ; Ali-ud-Din, 109b-110a ; Shah Yusaf, 53b-55b ; Sarkar, i. 416-17. Gyan singh, 694. (The Sikhs henceforth gave Kaura Mal the name of Mitha Mal. *Kaura* in Punjabi means bitter and *Mitha* means sweet. Ratan Singh, 404 ; Gyan singh, 691).

11. Renovation of Sikh oppression.

As soon as Muin-ul-Mulk was free from these troubles and felt strong enough to cope with the Sikh problem, he renewed his policy of repression. It seems he was convinced, and perhaps rightly so, that the Sikhs would not rest contented with the allowance of the jagir granted to them and that they were only biding their time to recoup their strength for creating fresh troubles in the province, as they had done on more than one occasion previously. This energetic Governor did not believe in half measures. Accordingly, he set the Government machinery, both military and civil, once again in motion and revived the old orders to the district and village officials for the arrest of the Sikhs. The people were forbidden under penalty of death to give shelter to the members of this community.

These measures of the Government succeeded in driving the Sikhs from the neighbourhood of towns and villages to places of shelter along the banks of the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej. They could have gone to the distant and impenetrable retreats in hills and deserts, but they preferred these easy refuges in order to harass the Nawab and his Mughalia troops, though at the risk of their own lives. Moreover, they wanted to have a dip in the tank of nectar. The Nawab's servants and troops searched for them in villages and when they got hold of any Sikh, slew him at once. If any other man was found living in the style of a Sikh, he was also arrested and his property confiscated.[1]

[1] Khushwat Rai, 79.

On the 3rd October 1751, Muin-ul-Mulk despatched Mumin Khan to chastise the Sikhs who were creating disturbances even in the close neighbourhood of Lahore. When they marched towards the hills, Mir Amanullah Khan, Faujdar of Eminabad, with 20 jizairs, 5 rahkalas and one big gun, was called upon to join Mumin Khan, whom he had given clear instructions to root out this sect, with the assistance of the zamindars of the sub-montane tracts.[1]

12. THE SIKHS ARE DRIVEN OUT OF THE PUNJAB PLAINS.

The policy of driving the Sikhs from post to pillar was so vigorously enforced that they were compelled once more to seek shelter in their old resorts in the lower Himalayan spurs, the thick forests of Central and Eastern Punjab and the deserts of Malwa and Bikaner. The Sikhs, who had many a time before seen harder days, did not mind these persecutions.

The capacity of endurance learned behind the plough stood them in good stead in their places of retirement. They led a life of the greatest danger and the highest usefulness to their co-religionists. They were blessed with a cavalry figure, excellent spirit, a perfect body, a love of adventure and an intense zest for life. They possessed the horse gift. They loved and understood horses, and horses loved and understood them. They seldom touched horses with whip and spur. They groomed them thoroughly every day, fondled them and got them used to their voice, hands and smell. Seizing a lock of a

[1] S. P. D., Miscellaneous Papers, P. 3, No. 1271. dated 14.10.1751.

horse's mane, they vaulted on to his bare back. They moved about with faultless smartness.

Each "Singh" was a lion of strength and courage. Stock of provisions he had none, and the sufferings of his body almost annihilated every sentiment of pleasure. They were men of simple passions and simple methods of expressing them. They wore the minimum of clothing and the maximum of armour.[1]

The reign of terror failed in achieving its object. The oppressed Jat peasantry from fear of the Government torture and molestation, fled from their fields and homes and converted themselves to the creed of Guru Gobind Singh and thus the Khalsa ranks began to swell even in exile.[2]

[1] "The Sikh Uhlan's endurance and rapidity of movement were quite commensurate with his rapacity, enabling him to baffle, if not defy, superior numbers......At a pinch, he could march some twenty or thirty miles a day on no better fare than a little parched gram washed down with pure cold water. A tent he despised, baggage in the ordinary sense of the word he had none....Besides his weapons his whole kit consisted of horse-gear, a few of the simplest cooking utensils, and two blankets, one for himself, and another for his faithful steed......Although his tactics mainly resolved themselves into a prolonged series of skirmishes conducted somewhat after the Parthian fashion, yet in the strife of men contending hand to hand he was terrible, though helpless against good artillery." (G. R. C. Williams, in Calcutta Review, 1875).

[2] Cf. Sohan Lal, i. 130: "During the campaigns of Muin's officers against the Sikhs, the Hindu peasants were also persecuted on many allegations such as supplying food to the Sikh outlaws, giving them shelter and avoiding disclosure of their whereabouts. Therefore daily additions to the numbers of the Sikhs took place openly at every place. Some of the members of the zamindar

13. The Third Durrani Invasion, December 1751–March 1752.

The Government of Muin-ul-Mulk was compelled to suspend this policy as they were called upon to face a graver danger. The intrepid Ahmad Shah Abdali, again appeared on the scene in December 1751. The pretext for this invasion was the failure of Muin (as might have been expected) in remitting to Kandahar the promised annual revenues of the four mahals. He despatched Harun Khan as his ambassador in advance to the court of Lahore demanding the fulfilment of the engagement. Muin delayed the negotiations in order to gain time for consultations with Kaura Mal whom he had summoned from Multan. On the arrival of the latter, however, it was decided that the Governor could not pay any revenue and this fact was communicated to the Vakil of the Abdali with an excuse that owing to recent disturbances in the province no revenue could be collected.[1]

The Shah sent another agent in the person of Diwan Sukhjiwan Mal to Lahore pressing for the payment of 24 lakhs of rupees. Muin again expressed inability to pay the arrears on the ground that the two years' revenues of the 'four mahals' had been appropriated to himself by Nasir Khan, and as the farmers had run away from the villages on account of Abdali's invasion no money could be collected. He paid him, however, 9 lakhs of rupees and promised to remit the balance on the Durrani's

families, under tyrannical oppression of the Muslim officers every day left their homes, took pahal and received free supply of food, clothing, arms and horses from the Sardars."

[1] Cf. S. P. D., Miscellaneous Papers, No. 1930 and 1944. Sohan Lal, i. 132-33.

immediate withdrawal to his own frontiers. Abdali took the money and continued his march to Lahore.[1]

The report of Abdali's advance caused a panic in the city of Lahore and the rich people fled to Delhi or to Jammu where they expected to get shelter. The Governor himself is reported to have sent his family and treasures to the care of Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu. Muin then crossed the Ravi, opposite Shahdara, at the head of 50,000 horse and foot and 400 guns, and took up his position at the Bridge of Shah Daula, 22 miles above Lahore on the Ravi.[2]

Ahmad Shah Durrani by a clever stratagem cut into the rear of Muin, crossed the Ravi and encamped at the Shalamar Garden. Muin, on learning it, hurriedly returned to Lahore and took up his entrenched position under the city walls.

The siege continued for four months. Neither Abdali for want of artillery nor Muin for lack of reinforcements from Delhi could make short work of this long affair. The whole country around Lahore within a radius of 50 miles was entirely laid waste by the Afghans with the result that "no lamp was lighted in any house for a

[1]Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, 83-85; Khazana-i-Amira, 114; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 122a.

[2]Muin was naturally suspicious of the Sikhs that they might take advantage of the troubled state of the country and might help the Afghan invader. He therefore held hopes to them through his Diwan Kaura Mal that after the retirement of the Abdali, he would give them the parganahs of Lakhthooa, Basohli and Doon. Some of the Sikhs were also recruited in the army for the purpose of supplying grain and grass and leading foraging attacks on the Afghans, but they deserted him during the course of the campaign. (Ratan Singh, 408; Gyan Singh, 696).

distance of three marches and an extreme scarcity of grain prevailed in the camps of both the armies."[1]

The supplies began wholly to fail and thus Muin was compelled to leave his trenches on the 5th March 1752 and to have a general engagement with the Afghans. In the course of the action which followed, Kaura Mal, the most trusted officer of Muin, lost his life. (6th March 1752). This caused a general desertion and Muin, though very unwillingly, decided to yield to the Durrani.[2]

14. Punjab lost to the Mughal Empire, March 1752.

Next day Muin-ul-Mulk fearlessly went to the Abdali camp attended by only three persons, having put his turban round the neck (as a sign of submission). He had taken with him a number of excellent horses, cash and clothes as presents. Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan, the highest Afghan nobles, received him and presented him to the Durrani Emperor. Ahmad Shah

[1]Ratan Singh, 409-11, says that Sukha Singh, a Sikh of considerable valour and daring, lost his life, while on a foraging expedition, fighting against Durrani soldiers. Miskin, 75.

[2]Khushwaqt Rai, 85-86 ; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 85a ; Farhat-ul-Nazirin in Elliot, viii. 167. (Ahmad Shah Abdali is said to have engaged a number of Sikhs in his service, obviously with a view to dissuading their brethren from fighting on the side of Muin and he succeeded in his attempt, for we learn from the author of Panth Parkash that the Sikhs who were employed for collecting provisions for Muin's army relaxed their efforts. Gyan Singh, 696-97. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, 91 ; Miskin, 76 ; Khazana-i-Amira, 98 ; Siyar, iii. 44 ; Farhat-ul-Nazirin in Elliot, viii. 168 and Ali-ud Din, 111b charge Adina Beg Khan with having shot Kaura Mal from behind ; while Ahwal-i-Adina Beg, 54a, accuses Bazid Khan of Kasur for his death. Delhi Chronicle, 69.

was struck with the noble bearing, boldness of address and frankness of manners of this youngman of parts.[1] He embraced him, conferred upon him the title of "Farzand Khan Bahadur, Rustam-i-Hind," granted him a robe of honour, an aigrette for the crest and the very turban he was wearing, and installed him in the *subahdari* of the Punjab on his behalf.

Muin begged the King to pardon his people who had done nothing to annoy him. Ahmad Shah granted his request, released the captives and issued orders prohibiting his soldiers from plundering the people. Muin collected whatever amount he could raise in the city and presented it to the Abdali together with the keys of the fort. Afterwards a treaty was signed by Muin, by the terms of which the provinces of Lahore and Multan were ceded to the Durrani Empire.

[1] Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 154, Khushwaqt Rai, 87. Miskin 78; Ali-ud-Din, 112a.

The following interesting conversation took place between the Durrani King and Muin-ul-Mulk :—

Durrani.—Why didn't you submit earlier ? Muin.—I had then another master to serve. Durrani.—Why didn't that master come to your help ? Muin.—He thought his servant could take care of himself. Durrani.—What would you have done if you had captured me ? Muin.—I would have cut off your head and sent it to my master at Delhi. Durrani.—Now that you are at my mercy, what should I do to you ? Muin.—If you are a shopkeeper, sell me (for a ransom); if you are a butcher, kill me; but if you are a king, then grant me your grace and pardon. Durrani.—May God bless you ! I pardon you. (Miskin, 79; Husain Shahi, 32-33; Khushwaqt Rai, 88; Ahwal-i-Adina Beg, 54b; Sohan Lal, i. 134-35: Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 8; Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 154; Ali-ud-Din, 112a-b). Browne, ii. 17.

Ahmad Shah Abdali then sent his envoy Qalandar Beg to his namesake, the Emperor of Delhi for the confirmation of the terms of the treaty. The Emperor granted the Beg audience in the Diwan-i-Khas on the 13th April and dismissed him by putting his seal on the treaty, thus losing the most important frontier province of the Mughal Empire.[1]

15. THE DURRANI CONQUERS KASHMIR.

While his ambassador had gone to Delhi, Ahmad Shah Durrani availing himself of the interval decided on the occupation of Kashmir. Consequently he despatched a strong detachment under Abdullah Khan, who easily made his way, probably through the help of Ranjit Dev of Jammu, to the capital of Kashmir, ousted the nominee of the Delhi Emperor and established the authority of the Durrani ; Ahmad Shah appointed Diwan Sukhjiwan Mal as the Governor of Kashmir and Abdullah Khan as his deputy.[2]

16. SIKH RAVAGES, DECEMBER 1751–MARCH 1752.

The four months of the fresh Durrani invasion (December 1751–March 1752) were favourable to the further rise of the Sikhs, as they afforded the Sikhs an ideal opportunity to renew their depredations over a comparatively wider area. Muin, his faujdars of various divisions of the province and his troops were too busy with the foreign invader to pay any attention to the

[1] Delhi Chronicle, 70 & 71 ; S. P. D. xxi. 53 & 55 ; Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, 93-95 ; Siyar, iii. 44 ; Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 9 ; Shah Yusaf, 56b.

[2] Khazana-i-Amira, 114 ; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 122a.

Sikhs and hence their depredations slaughtering and burning remained for the interval unchecked. They sacked the Bari Doab and moved on to the Jullundur Doab which also lay unprotected as Adina Beg Khan was in Lahore fighting on the side of Muin. They swept it clean of all riches[1] and utterly ruined the noted Muslim families of the place. Then they crossed the Sutlej and extended their depredations as far as Thaneswar and retired towards Hissar.[2] A part of the Dal Khalsa appears also to have penetrated in the west in the Rechna and Chaj Doabs and to have committed desolation in that part of the country quite unmolested.[3] Thus the Sikhs acquired a lot of rich booty besides gaining large numbers of fresh recruits.

[1]Bakhtmal, 67-68 & 71 ; Sohan Lal, i. 135.

[2]"They inflicted terrible losses and pains on the ancient families of Pirzadas and Sayyidas" (Sohan Lal, i. 135). "The Sikhs particularly punished the butchers for killing cows." (Ratan Singh, 434 and Gyan Singh, 701). Browne, ii. 17.

An entry in Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, on folio 132, dated 15th December 1751 runs as follows :—"In these days the Sikhs, the worshippers of Nanak, came from the Lahore side, stayed in Sirhind for some time plundering and ravaging the towns of that district and then advanced towards Jind. Kamgar Khan Biluch, the Governor of Hissar and Sonipat, fought with them and killed many villains of that sect. Then they fled away towards Hissar."

[3]The Sikhs who were rising into importance had in 1752 under their leaders Charat Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh come as far as Sayyid Kasran and Basali and had plundered those towns. They compelled Muqarrab Khan (the Gakhar chief of Gujrat) to return from Lahore and to yield up his possessions beyond the Chenab." (J. A. S. B., vol. 40, part 1, 1871, p. 99.)

17. PERSECUTION OF SIKHS RENEWED, MARCH 1752–NOVEMBER 1753.

After the war, Muin-ul-Mulk was quite secure in his position. His connections with his rivals at Delhi came to an end and the danger of the foreign invasion was over. He already led a lordly style of life and now wholly plunged himself into ease and pleasure.[1] He could not, however, tolerate disorder and lawlessness in his province, especially when no external danger existed. Reports of Sikh ravages in all parts of the country were pouring in to him, and immediately after his submission to Ahmad Shah Abdali he despatched Sadiq Beg Khan with Adina Beg Khan to punish the Sikhs in the Jullundur Doab where they had returned from Hissar. Adina Beg Khan hailed this opportunity, in order to wash away the suspicions of treachery attached to him at Lahore during the time of the Durrani's third invasion.

The commanders entered the Jullundur Doab in pursuit of the Sikhs. They received intelligence that the Sikhs had assembled near Makhowal, probably to celebrate the Baisakhi[2] festival. The Sikhs were taken quite unawares, because they had received news of the Durrani siege going on in Lahore and were sure that neither Muin nor his officers would be free to turn their attention to them. They were deep in the midst of their

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[1]Ahmad Shah, 868. ("His household expenditure was also very heavy on account of his lordly and extravagant style of living, as we see vividly illustrated in the memoirs of his page Tahmasp Miskin." Sarkar, i. 424). Browne, 17.

[2]Browne, ii. 17, calls it Holi, which is apparently wrong as it fell on the 18th February when Muin was shut up in trenches at Lahore, hard pressed by the Abdali.

festivities when Adina Beg and Sadiq Beg suddenly fell upon them and put a large number of them to the sword while the rest were forced to escape for their life. But such was their hardihood and doggedness that soon after they began to plunder again in small parties.[1] They finally dispersed in all directions.

Muin, however, did not give up the pursuit of the Sikhs. After the return of Adina Beg Khan another force under Mir Mumin Khan was despatched in the direction of the Lakhi jungle where the Sikhs were reported to have taken shelter. The Muslim troops were very much harassed by the Sikhs and consequently Mir Mumin was recalled. A fresh expedition was next sent under Husain Khan. This officer proved too cunning for the Sikhs and challenged them to an open fight rather than resorting to their guerilla tactics. The Sikhs were inveigled into the trap and ultimately defeated and made to leave the field.[2]

But the Sikhs managed to escape to the northern parts of the Bari Doab where they indiscriminately

[1] Browne, ii. 17. Malcolm on p. 92, blames Adina Beg Khan for the Sikh plunders. He says :—"That able but artful chief considered this turbulent tribe in no other light than as the means of his personal advancement, he was careful not to reduce them altogether ; but, after defeating them in an action, which was fought near Makhoval, he entered into a secret understanding with them, by which, though their excursions were limited, they enjoyed a security to w ich they had been unaccustomed, and from which they gathered strength and resources for future efforts."

Bakht Mal, 71-72. Forster, i. 314.

[2] Ratan singh, 307-10 ; Gyan Singh, 701-705. This fight took place in the *bet* (island) of the Sutlej near Kot Buddha Gaon.

plundered the unguarded towns. The Governor now proceeded in person. The acount of this expedition which was led by Muin towards the close of 1752, is thus given by his page Tahmasp Miskin,—"When the Nawab Sahib was out on an administrative tour in the Batala District he heard that a large body of the Sikhs were causing disturbances in the neighbourhood and were closing the roads and ruining the cultivators. He sent Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan with his bakhshi Ghazi Beg Khan to punish them. These officers marched to the scene, fought the Sikhs and put them to flight. Nine hundreds of the Sikh infantry threw themselves into the small fort of Ram Rauni, close to Chak Guru, which Jamil-ud-din immediately invested. After a few days the garrison rushed out sword in hand, and were slain."[1] Muin felt exasperated and eventually he ordered his troops to seize the women and children of the Sikhs. His soldiers consequently secured a large number of such captives and committed unspeakable atrocities on them. The Sikh women, it may be said to their credit, faced these calamities heroically and often laid down their lives in the scuffle.[2]

The Sikhs resisted these outrages, but in the struggle they suffered heavily, as they were helpless against light

[1]Miskin, 81 ; Sarkar, i. 426.

[2]Gyan Singh, 708-12. Even on subsequent occasions of their later history this aspect of the life of Sikh women came under the observation of George Thomas, in whose memoirs page 75 we find the following statement :—"Instances indeed have not unfrequently occurred, in which they (Sikh women) have actually taken up arms to defend their habitations, from the desultory attacks of the enemy, and throughout the contest behaved themselves with an intrepidity of spirit, highly praiseworthy."

portable artillery. They now sought refuge in the impenetrable retreats of the northern hills and gave temporary consolation to their afflicted hearts by singing the following couplet of their own composition :

"Mir Mannu is our sickle and we are his grass blades ; the more he cuts us, the more do we grow in every house and hamlet."[1]

But out of the ashes of the martyrs the Sikhs arose with greater glory and splendour. Muin's efforts availed him nothing. The Sikhs never gave him peace. The harder he grew the bolder they became. With the beginning of the cold weather in 1753 the Sikhs renewed their raids with greater vigour and infested the very environs of Lahore. Muin undertook an expedition in person which is thus described by Miskin :—" He marched out of Lahore to a distance of 7 kos and encamped near village Tilakpur (Malakpur according to Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, folio 282, 40 miles north-east of Lahore), situated on the bank of the Ravi. He halted there for a long time and sent out Mughalia troops under Khwajah Mirza in every direction to suppress the Sikhs wherever he heard of their risings. Khwajah Mirza at the head of his troops galloped off twenty or sometimes thirty kos ; wherever he got a clue of the whereabouts of the Sikhs, he suddenly fell upon them and slew them. The persons who brought Sikhs alive or their heads or their horses, received prizes. Every Mughal who lost his own horse in battle was provided with another of a better quality at the expense of the Government. The Sikhs who were captured alive were sent to hell by being beaten with wooden mallets. At

[1]Ali-ud-Din, 111 a.

times Adina Beg Khan sent 40 or 50 Sikh captives from the Doab District (Jullundur) ; they were as a rule killed with the strokes of wooden hammers."[1]

18. SWELLING OF THE DAL KHALSA.

As we have seen in the previous pages, it was for a little over five years that Muin struggled with the Sikhs ; but he cannot be said to have succeeded. Several forces, internal as well as external, working at the period, were responsible for this state of affairs. The organisation of the Sikhs into a compact body which was not unwieldy at the time, stood them in good stead in such dangerous days. The common danger and strong religious feelings kept them under discipline and made every Sikh obey his leader in order to work for the cause of the Panth. Moreover, common grievances, common suffering, a common faith and a common purpose had created feelings of brotherhood and love among the members of the Dal Khalsa.

On the other hand, the peasantry of the Punjab had grown restless and discontented under heavy revenue charges and by the ill-treatment of the revenue officers and the Mughalia troops.[1] Finding no other way of escape from this predicament they preferred the adoption of Sikhism in order to get rid of their sad plight and to enjoy the privileges of power, plunder and punishing their enemies. Consequently where the villagers underwent oppression, they grew their hair, shouted, *Akal ! Akal*, took the *pahal* and converted themselves to the Sikh religion, and in this way the number of the Dal Khalsa began to increase by leaps and bounds.[2]

[1]Miskin, 84.

[2]Siyar, iii. 50-51. Browne, ii. 16. Bakhtmal, 67-68.

Thus the very forces which were aimed at the destruction of the Sikhs, failing in hitting the mark, hurt the initiator of the scheme and strengthened that which they were meant to destroy.

19. Death of Muin-ul-Mulk, 3rd November 1753.

Nature, however, would not suffer the Sikhs to be tried beyond human endurance. Their misfortunes ended. A period of three years to do whatever they liked was afforded to them by the sudden and unexpected death of Muin-ul-Mulk on the 3rd November 1753, at Tilakpur, on the bank of the Ravi, eight kos from Lahore, probably under the effects of poisoning.[1]

[1] Miskin, who was then serving Muin as his personal attendant gives interesting details about his master's tragic end. (See pp. 87-90). He was buried near Shahid Ganj, in the mansion of Abdul Rahim Khan, son-in-law of Abdul Samad Khan. In the reign of Sher Singh, the Sikhs in a moment of religious frenzy, dismantled the building, dug out the remains of Muin and scattered them to the winds. (Lahore Gazetteer, p. 28; Khushwaqt Rai, 88).

CHAPTER IV

THE "RAKHI" SYSTEM, (November 1753-April 1757.)

1. Sikhs are left unhampered, November 1753.

The death of the capable and vigorous Governor Muin-ul-Mulk removed the chief obstacle in the way of the Sikhs. Henceforth for a period of three years unbounded confusion and anarchy prevailed in the Punjab. This short period of three years saw as many as nine short-lived successions to the *subahdari* of this frontier province. The Delhi court, involved in the grip of civil wars, treachery and murder, utterly failed in taking care of the Punjab affairs, while the Durrani was too absorbed in quelling disturbances in his own newly-built and disjointed empire and hence could do nothing but send small helps to the Lahore subahdar from time to time. In the following pages we will try to present a brief sketch of the affairs of Lahore and to show how they offered the most favourable opportunity to the Sikhs for making unhampered progress and how the sect availed themselves of it.

2. Baby Rule and Petticoat government provided for the Punjab.

On the death of the last imperial viceroy of the Punjab, Emperor Ahmad Shah appointed his three year old son Mahmud Khan as viceroy of the two provinces of Lahore and Multan, 13th November. The robes of honour were conferred on the prince in the Diwan-i-Khas ; and quite in the fitness of things, the baby Viceroy of three years was provided with a two year old Deputy in the

person of Muhammad Amin Khan, son of the late Muin-ul-Mulk, for whom a khilaat and jewels were sent through Mir Jamil-ud-din Khan. The actual administration of the province, was, however, entrusted to Mumin Khan.[1]

The Punjab since 1752 had formed a part of the Durrani Empire and hence its subahdar drew his real power, not from the Delhi Emperor but from the king of Afghanistan. Mughlani Begam (Muin's widow), a lady of remarkable address and spirit, was not satisfied with having received a formal nomination from Delhi, nor was the assistant Mumin Khan. Both of them, therefore, opened negotiations with Ahmad Shah Abdali and in January 1754 received confirmation from him. This occasion was celebrated with great pomp and show and there were great rejoicings.

3. Death of Muhammad Amin Khan (May 1754) and Begam's Profligacy.

Bhikari Khan, surnamed Roshan-ud-daulah, Rustam-i-Jang, a Turki general, "the dearest friend and most trusted factotum of Muin", and the "centre of all affairs in the province in his time,"[2] revolted against the Begam. She, however, cleverly won over other Turki nobles and succeeded in removing the threat of civil war. But the

[1]The chronicler of the Imperial court records in his diary :— "(Muin) always waged war with the Sikhs, the worshippers of Nanak....(He) was a bold and valiant man. His presence in Lahore, the frontier on that side of the country where there was the permanent problem of expelling Ahmad Abdali, was a great satisfaction. (Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi, 257-58).

[2]Tarikhi-Ahmad Shahi. 282-83, Siyar, iii. 51 ; Sarkar, i. 439.

baby Governor, Muhammad Amin Khan, died early in May 1754, displaying the same symptoms of poisoning as his father.[1] The new Emperor, Alamgir II, appointed Mumin Khan as Governor of the Punjab on 25th October 1754, but his authority was negatived by the Begam in whose hands lay the real power.

Mughlani Begam established herself securely in the seat of the provincial government. But no sooner had she done so than she began to betray the frailty of her sex. All the contemporary evidence agrees in saying that the widow fell into a course of pleasure in which she was led by her eunuchs, so much so that she foolishly threw all modesty to the winds and became notorious for having lost her character.[2]

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[1] "Many people believed that Bhikari Khan poisoned the innocent (child) through eunuch Zamurrad who had access to him." Miskin, 97-98. (This news reached Delhi on the 2nd June 1754; Delhit Chronicle, 92.)

[2] The Begam's connections of clandestine love with Ghazi Beg Khan Bakhshi became so notorious that this talk was on the lips of everybody, big and small, in Lahore- (Miskin, 99). Her name was connected with the youthful page Miskin, our valuable informer, by an aunt of Imad-ul-Mulk, Ghazi-ud-Din, the Delhi Wazir, who intended to kill the page, but Miskin escaped through the Begam's assistance. (Miskin, 122). The Begam tried her best to seduce Miskin, offered temptations of costly gifts and kept him in her private chamber during whole nights. (Miskin, 159-60), In 1758 the Begam was at Jammu where she fell into a course of dissolute conduct with her old eunuch Shahbaz and "in the whole city of Jammu, the notoriety of this affair was talked of for about two or three months." (Miskin, 230). The Begam then left Jammu and retired to a neighbouring hill called Sanba where she quietly married Shahbaz. (Miskin, 231)- Cf. Ghulam Ali, 26: Shiva Prashad, 33b; Khazana-i-Amira, 98-99. (All contemporary authorities.)

4. Eunuchs' Rule at Lahore.

These were not the times, however, when a female viceroy could display much activity in controlling the affairs of the administration, particularly when there was the serious problem of suppressing associations of refractory people like those of the Sikhs. Eunuchs were the only medium through whom Mughlani Begam conducted the State affairs and, therefore, it became, to all intents and purposes, eunuchs' rule at Lahore. The Diwan, Bakhshi and other government officials waited in the *deorhi* (portico) of the Begam and received her orders through Mian Khush-faham, Mian Arjmand and Mian Mahabbat. These eunuchs took part in all the discussions and became her chief confidants in all affairs great or small. Matters were made worse by the fact that these eunuchs never agreed together but constantly quarrelled[1] among themselves.

The eunuchs' rule and the Begam's profligacy disappointed the Turkish nobles who came from the same stock in Central Asia as the Begam's father and husband, and now they were resolved to defy such a degraded authority.

5. Revolts and Counter-revolts in Lahore, January 1754-October 1756.

Bhikari Khan, as has already been mentioned, was the first to break out in rebellion against the authority of Mughlani Begam (January 1754). He was, however,[2]

[1] Miskin 93-98,

[2] "The eunuchs striking him blow after blow cried out, "The blood of the two (Muin and Amin) is on you. This is your due recompense for it." Miskin, 107.

confined by her in her palace and put to death in April 1755 by being beaten with shoes and cudgels. In December 1754, the Mughalia courtiers decided that "as a fissure had appeared in the family honour of the late Nawab," the best course for them was to entrust Khwajah Mirza Khan with the administration of the province. Consequently Khwajah Mirza came to Lahore, confined the Begam in a house and assumed the vice-royalty of the Punjab. The Begam cleverly managed to depute Khwajah Abdullah Khan, her mother's brother, to Ahmad Shah Abdali, whose troops restored the Begam to authority. (April 1755). In July 1755 Khwajah Abdullah confined the Begam to her mother's house and became undisputed master of Lahore.[1]

Adina Beg Khan, the faujdar of the Jullundur Doab, took advantage of the unrest prevailing in the provincial capital. He marched upon Lahore, drove away Abdullah and appointed Sadiq Beg Khan as his deputy to manage the State affairs. The Begam secretly sought help from the Durrani, who despatched Jahan Khan to restore her to the *subahdari*. Sadiq Beg fled to Sirhind (*c.* December 1755), while the Begam assumed full power with Khwajah Abdullah as her deputy.[2] In March 1756 Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir, made Mughlani Begam captive, confiscated her property, entrusted the Government of Lahore and Multan to Adina Beg Khan for a

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[1]Miskin, 99-107. "This Khwajah, closing the gates of the city, plundered much from the inhabitants of Lahore both Hindus and Muslims, on the plea of their having been associates of Bhikari Khan, and slew many people. Vast numbers were ruined. Grain and other stuffs became very dear." Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 112.

[2]Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 124, 151. Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 9.

tribute of 30 lakhs a year, and appointed Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan in charge of Lahore as Adina's assistant. Khwajah Abdullah brought a Durrani contingent from Qandahar, expelled Jamil-ud-din and himself became the viceroy with Khwajah Mirza as his assistant[1] (4th October 1756).

6. DISSOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT IN THE PUNJAB.

The story narrated in the previous pages is a sickening tale of revolutions, counter-revolutions, rapine, treachery and murder prevailing in the capital of the Punjab after the death of Muin. Within the short space of three years (November 1753-October 1756) nine changes had taken place in the office of the Governor, and the administration was gradually breaking up. Multan was under a separate subahdar directly responsible to the Durrani. The four mahals of Gujrat, Sialkot, Pasrur and Aurangabad, were ruled over by Rustam Khan directly appointed by Ahmad Shah. Jullundur and Sirhind were under Adina Beg Khan, who did not care to recognize the authority of the Lahore Governor. The only districts which owed allegiance to Lahore were in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, the chief places being Eminabad, Shahdara and Cheemah Gakhar (10 m. s. of Wazirabad). The powerful local zamindars, on the other hand, were gathering troops and assuming an independent attitude. Gakhars and Tiwans in the Sind Sagar Doab; Waraich chiefs and Muqarrab Khan in the Chaj Doab; Chathhas and zamindars of Bajoh in the

[1]Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 130-31, 151; Delhi Chronicle, 131 & 132; Miskin, 120-26; Ghulam Ali, 26-27; Khazana-i-Amira, 52; Shiva Parshad, 33b; Shakir, 79-80; Siyar, iii. 53; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 98b; Maasir-ul-Umara, ii. 851-52.

Rechna Doab ; Hindu faqirs of Gurdaspur and Jandiala ; Randhawa zamindars of Batala parganah and Afghans of Kasur in the Bari Doab ; Rajputs of Talwan, Phagwara and Kapurthala, and Afghans of Alawalpur in the Jullundur Doab were becoming all powerful.[1]

7. Rapid Rise of the Sikhs, November 1753-October 1756.

This state of affairs in the province offered a golden opportunity to the ever-vigilant Sikhs. They rose once more with greater vigour and firmer resolution. The sudden death of Muin had strengthened their faith that they were destined to play the role of rulers in their fatherland. "Their number and audacity," says Prinsep, "accordingly increased rapidly, and bands of these bearded depredators were continually to be seen traversing the various districts of the Punjab, sweeping off the flocks and herds, and laying waste the cultivation unless redeemed by a prompt contribution." They punished their enemies and plundered their villages and thus acquired immense booty.[2]

Then they employed Jassa Singh Thoka to rebuild the Ram Rauni fort of Amritsar, which had been demolished by Muin-ul-Mulk. Jassa Singh at the head of his contingent together with large numbers of other Sikhs, set to work and fortified it more strongly this time and

[1] Khushwaqt Rai, 80; Ahmad Shah, 870.

[2] They plundered Nur Din ki Sarai, Singhkot, Majitha Jendiala, Saidewala, Bhurewala, Mandiala, Batala, Bondala, Malpur, Phagwara, Nowshahra, Sheikhupura, and the villages of Karma Chhina, Rama Randhawa, Mahant Akal Das Hindalia, Aulia Khan Gheb and Hasna Bhatti. (Ratan Singh, 311-12; Gyan Singh, 713).

renamed it Ramgarh (God's fort). Making this place the base of their operations, they sallied out and reached the very environs of Lahore, where they fought and harassed Qasim Khan the faujdar designate of Patti, while on his way from Lahore to Patti; and so he was ultimately forced to take 8,000 of them into his service. (February-March 1754). They deserted him after he had provided them with matchlocks, bows and arrows, other war material and gifts worth thousands of rupees.[1]

The Sikhs then advanced towards Eminabad and molested Khwajah Mirza, the faujdar of the place. The Khwajah was a man of a vigorous nature, and in order to face the Sikh menace he had enlisted five or six thousand fresh Turki troops from his homeland under one of his brothers named Khwajah Qazi. With the help of this strong force he succeeded in expelling the Sikhs from his territory. He, however, could not successfully curb the power of Charat Singh (grand-father of Ranjit Singh) who resided in his neighbourhood.[2] They returned to Lahore. Charat Singh and Jai Singh, at the head of 500 Sikhs, dressed in Muslim garbs, one dark evening entered Lahore by the Shahalami Gate and plundered the rich merchants and jewellers, living near the palaces of Begams known as Parimahal and Rangmahal. Mumin Khan, the then Deputy-Governor (November 1753-November 1754), pursued them and punished some of them on whom he could lay his hands. About the end of 1754, the Dal Khalsa ravaged the Ambala District, and about 12,000 Sikhs fell upon Sirhind, plundered the town and then disappeared to

[1] Miskin, the eye-witness, (pp. 94—96) presents a beautiful picture of this incident.

[2] Miskin, 102—105. Buti Shah, 308a.

Thikriwala. The Sikhs once more repaired towards the provincial capital and when Khwajah Mirza was the Governor of Lahore (December 1754-April 1755) they constantly troubled him, though he frequently despatched his brother Khwajah Qazi to punish them[1].

From the middle of March to the middle of April 1755, their services were hired by Adina Beg Khan, who collected a huge army of 50,000 horse and nearly the same number of foot to fight against Qutab Khan Rohila, whom he defeated and killed on the 11th April 1755 on the bank of the Sutlej opposite Ropar. Adina Beg Khan took over the administration of Sirhind, crossed the river Sutlej and marched up to Shahabad, Thanesar, Ghuram, Mansurpur and Mustafabad.[2]

[1]Ratan Singh, 311—12; Gyan Singh, 713—15. (This Mumin Khan is said to have been murdered by the Sikhs, during one of his expeditions against them. Gyan Singh, 716-17). *Kaifiyat Maqadma Lakhnaur Sahib* quoted in Karam Singh, 159-60. This was for the first time after Banda that the Sikhs ravaged Sirhind. Miskin, 105.

[2]Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 76-88. (Qutab Khan was the jagirdar of parganahs Keranah, Barot, Sardhana and Kandhela. When these territories were made over to the Marathas by the Delhi Wazir, Qutab Khan entered the Sirhind territory on the 11th March 1755 and ravaged Sonipat, Panipat, Karnal, Azimabad and Thanesar and seized Sirhind. He was joined by Jamal Khan of Malerkotla and the Afghan troops of the Sirhind Governor Sadiq Beg Khan. Adina Beg who could not brook the presence of such a formidable foe in his close neighbourhood prepared to oppose him. Delhi Chronicle, 122; Chahar Gulzar Shujai, 461a; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 98b-99a; Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, 56b-57a; Ahmad Shah, 880-81. The last authority says that the Delhi King conferred on Adina Beg the title of "Zafar Jang Bahadur" in appreciation of his services against a rebel).

From the perusal of a Marathi letter dated June 1755. it appears that the Sikhs left Adina Beg Khan near Thanesar and advanced further into Narnaul and Kanaud, the territory of Madho Singh, Raja of Jaipur, and created disturbances there. The Raja sent his agent to the Marathas for help and hired Achyut Rao for Rs. 5,000 per day. When this force allied with that of the Raja approached them, they retired towards the Punjab.[1]

Having come back from their predatory excursion in the territory of the Raja of Jaipur, the Sikhs annoyed Adina Beg Khan and compelled him to cede to them the parganah of Fatahabad, by way of jagir, in November 1755. About April 1756, they harassed Sayyid Jamil-ud-din in the neighbourhood of Lahore. They afterwards seem to have comfortably settled in the Upper Bari Doab in the districts of Kalanaur, Batala and Amritsar, which became their strongholds in future.[2]

8. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE "RAKHI" SYSTEM.

During this period when anarchy and misrule had become the order of the day both at Delhi and Lahore, a further development in the rise of the Sikh power took place which was soon to lead them to the final stage of their becoming a political power. The peasantry of the Punjab had been ruined by the revenue farmers, Sikh plundering bands, the Government troops and others. Trade had practically come to a stop as the roads and ways had become quite unsafe. In this chaotic state lay the chance of the Khalsa, and they seized it. They were the only organized powerful people among the lawless marauders of

[1]S. P. D. XXVII. 109.

[2]Griffin's Rajas, 458. Miskin, 124. Khushwaqt Rai, 80.

the country. Their presence inspired fear and awe not only in the minds of the inhabitants of the country but also in the Government of the day. They offered a plan to the villages individually. The villagers were to place themselves under the protection of the Dal Khalsa on a promise to pay one-fifth of their income twice a year in May and October, at the end of each harvest, Asarhi and Saoni, known also as Rabi and Kharif. The Sikhs in return were to afford them full protection against plunder, theft or molestation of any other kind either by themselves or by their neighbours and Government troops. In a word, the safety of their persons and property was to be guaranteed. This system was called Rakhi or Jamadari.[1]

To the helpless villagers such an offer of peace and safety was a boon, and needless to say many of them fully availed themselves of it. Consequently, in a short time large slices of territory in as many as four out of the five doabs of the Punjab were taken under protection by the Dal. To make the system workable, one or more units of the Dal combined to take charge of a piece of territory brought under their protection. Besides, a reserve force was stationed at Amritsar for the purposes of reinforcement in cases of emergency. Thus, the bands of Karora Singh and Dip Singh went to the southern bank of the Sutlej. The Singhpurias and Ahluwalias remained on both

[1] "Whenever a zamindar has agreed to pay this tribute to any Sick chief, that chief not only himself refrains from plundering him, but will protect him from all others; and this protection is by general consent held so far sacred, that even if the grand army (Dal Khalsa) passed through a zemindary where the safeguards of the lowest Sick chief are stationed, it will not violate them." (Browne, Introductiou, viii). Buti Shah, 308a. Ali-ud-Din, 171b,

sides of the Ghara (the Sutlej after its junction with the Beas). Jai Singh Kanhaya and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia retired to the fertile tract of land called Riarki in the north of Amritsar. The Nakais settled in the Nakka country south of Lahore. Charat Singh Sukarchakia and Hari Singh Bhangi who commanded the strongest bands, settled themselves in the Rechna and Chaj Doabs in the midst of a hostile population. The Nishanwalas and Dallewalas guarded 'Guru ki Nagri' (Chak Guru or Amritsar), and were to serve as reserve forces for any emergency. These chiefs threw up a number of small forts at convenient centres where strong garrisons were placed to enforce their authority.[1]

This step secured for the Sikhs a strong economic position for the time being and created for the Sikh chiefs principalities, which they were soon to rule over as absolute masters. Thus, this step supplied them with the idea of raising themselves into territorial chieftains.

In November 1756 Ahmad Shah Durrani entered India on his fourth campaign, and as usual threw the whole country into utter confusion and chaos and afforded the Sikhs another lease of five months to carry on their activities unrestrained.

9. The fourth Durrani Invasion, November 1756-April 1757.

Ahmad Shah Durrani was this time invited to invade India by Mughlani Begam, Najib-ud-daulah and Emperor Alamgir II, all of whom promised him their full

[1] Cf. Sohan Lal, ii. 5.

support.[1] The Durrani king started from Qandahar early in autumn and arrived at Peshawar early in November 1756. He left Peshawar on the 15th November, crossed the Indus on the 26th and reached Lahore on the 20th December, stayed in Lahore for twelve days exacting tributes from the local chiefs, and then crossed the Sutlej on the 10th January and advanced towards Delhi by rapid marches.

In the course of all his previous incursions the Durrani had experienced active opposition from the Punjab Viceroy, and the Delhi court also had made some efforts or at least had displayed some energy or anxiety in checking his progress. On this occasion, however, the empire had been reduced to such a condition of utter wreck and ruin that no one tried to impede his march and not a single Indian soldier came forward to oppose him till the invader found himself in the Imperial Capital where everybody lay at his mercy.

[1]The Begam wrote :—"Goods and cash worth krores of rupees lie buried to my knowledge in the palace of my late father-in-law, besides heaps of gold and silver stored inside the ceilings. A perfect disagreement exists among the Emperor Alamgir II, his wazirs and nobles. If you invade India this time, the Indian Empire with all its riches of krores will fall into your hands without incurring any expenditure." (Ali-ud-Din, 114 b).

Najib-ud-daulah wrote :—"In this country I have gathered round myself 25,000 Afghans. I have prepared the other Afghans of Gangapar (Trans-Ganges) who number 40,000 to enter your service. You may come here without any suspicion. Imad-ul-Mulk has not the strength to oppose you. I am his greatest ally. As I have become obedient to you, there is none other left here (to help him)." (Nur-ud-din, 14 b).

For Emperor's invitation, cf. Francklin's Shah Aulum, 4-5.

The events of this campaign are foreign to our subject, but it is necessary to show how matters stood at Delhi and what havoc Abdali created there.

Abdali entered Delhi on the 28th January 1757 and from that day his troops fell into plundering and committing all sorts of ravages.[1] The Durrani himself entered upon a system of torture and exaction, and even the greatest grandees of the court were subjected to the lowest humiliation. The houses of all high nobles were dug up, the ceilings broken and their women stripped of everything. Mughlani Begam rendered the Abdali the most meritorious service by telling him of what worth each noble was and what virgin beauties were in the Imperial harem.[2]

Afterwards the whole city was divided into wards. Afghan troops were posted everywhere and a regular levy was charged from every house, Torture of all kinds was applied and a large number of men and women died under the operation while many took poison or drowned themselves. This state of things lasted in Delhi for about a month. These atrocities were not limited to the city of Delhi. Muttra was sacked afterwards where massacre, rape and arson were committed beyond limit. Next Brindavan was subjected to the same fate.

Nature came to the rescue of the helpless people where the Government of the country had utterly failed.

[1] S. P. D. xxi. 104.

"They dragged away peoples' wives and daughters with such cruelty, that numbers, overborne by the delicacy of their feelings, rather than fall into their abominable hands, made away with themselves." Siyar, iii. 54.

[2] Husain Shahi, 37.

A cholera epidemic broke out in Abdali's camp, carrying off about 150 soldiers daily. This made Ahmad Shah return home without delay, and with a heavy heart he had to call off his vanguard to go back. He arrived at Delhi on the 31st March, took Hazrat Begam, a 16 years old daughter of Muhammad Shah forcibly into wedding and dragged away 17 other ladies of the Imperial harem and 400 maid-servants in her train. A month before, he had married his son Timur to the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II, and taking these virgin tributes he then formally annexed the province of Sirhind to his own kingdom and appointed Abdul Samad Khan Mohmandzai[1] of Hashtnagar its governor. The city of Delhi was sacked once more. Then laden with immense booty, he left Delhi on the 2nd April 1757. He bestowed the office of the Wazir on Imad-ul-Mulk, at the request of Mughlani Begam and appointed Najib-ud-daulah Mir Bakhshi of Hindustan and his own plenipotentiary (*Mukhtar*) and as the real master of the Mughal Government.[2]

[1] Browne, ii. 18, wrongly names him Ahmed Khan.

[2] "Abdali's own goods were loaded on 28,000 camels, elephants, mules, bullocks and carts, while 200 camel-loads of property were taken by Muhammad Shah's widows who accompanied him and these too belonged to him. 80,000 horse and foot followed him, each man carrying away spoils. His cavalry returned on foot, loading their booty on their chargers. For securing transport, the Afghan King left no horse or camel in any one's house, not even a donkey." Cf. S. P. D. ii. 71 ; Sarkar, ii. 125-30.

Delhi Chronicle, 135 ; Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 152-62 ; Rajwade, vi. 365 ; Miskin, 131-37 ; Samin in Indian Antiquary, 1907, pp. 10-18 ; 43-51 ; 55-70 ; (contemporary). Khazana-i-Amira, 5? ; Siyar, iii. 53 (useful). By far the fullest details of this campaign are given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in his *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. ii, chapters xv-xvi, pp. 82-136.

10. THE SIKH ACTIVITIES OF LAWLESSNESS, DECEMBER, 1756—APRIL, 1757.

At all such times of foreign invasion the whole country was as a rule thrown into an entire convulsion and upheaval. The Government suspended its administration and law and order came to an end. "In all directions the zamindars raised their heads in rebellion and blocked the traffic on all the roads." Not to speak of the people of small consequence, even the noted chiefs took full advantage of the confusion of the times. "Najabat Khan of Kunjpura dressed his Afghans in scarlet caps and vilayati Alkhaliqs and (pretending to be Durranis) took to highway robbery".[1]

The Sikhs were not yet strong enough to hold themselves in their positions and save from the Durrani atrocities such people as had sought shelter under their suzerainty. Almost all the people all along the route had deserted their homes and had fled either to the hills and jungles or to the deep ravines in the neighbourhood where the Afghans could not pursue them with immunity.[2] The Sikhs, however, made the most of these disturbances and plundered those people who had not taken shelter with them under the Rakhi system. Sayyid Jamil-ud-din, when fleeing from Lahore to Delhi, was plundered by the Sikhs near Philaur. Nearly the whole treasure he was carrying with him was seized. The Jullundur Doab was lying unprotected as Adina Beg Khan had fled to the waterless tract of Hansi and Hissar. The Sikhs, there-

[1] Samin in *Indian Antiquary*, 13. Miskin, 133.

[2] "From Lahore to Sirhind not a village was left tenanted; all men, high and low, having fled away in all directions." Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani quoted in Sarkar, ii. 63-64. Gyan Singh, 720.

fore, had the best opportunity to punish the people of the Doab who had often helped Adina Beg Khan against them. The whole Doab was given over to plunder and their enemies were mercilessly treated. Ahmad Shah, whilst on his march to Delhi, was preyed upon by them; the stragglers of the Afghan army were cut off and their baggage plundered, His son Timur was also robbed as is testified to by a Marathi despatch dated March, 1757, reproduced in Rajwade, vol. i. p. 85. It runs:—" At the end of March, 1757, when the front division of Abdali's army under Prince Timur was transporting the plundered wealth of Delhi to Lahore, Alha Singh, in concert with other Sikh robbers, had barred his path at Sanawar (between Ambala and Patiala) and robbed him of half his treasures, and again attacked and plundered him at Malerkot. So great had been the success of these brigands that rumour had magnified it into the prince's captivity and even death at their hands." Ahmad Shah, on his way back to Afghanistan, was again attacked by the Sikhs between Delhi and the river Chenab several times and they easily succeeded in acquiring a part of the enormous booty he was carrying off.[1]

Ahmad Shah stayed in Lahore for some time, sent expeditions against the Sikhs, massacred a number of them, plundered their city of Amritsar, pulled down their sacred buildings and filled the tank with dirt and refuse.[2] The Sikhs left the neighbourhood of Lahore and Amritsar and took shelter in the Sandal Bar and the hills of

[1]Ahmad Shah, 877. Malcolm, 93. Cf. Sarkar, ii. 71-72; S. P. D. xxvii. 148. Bakhtmal 77.

[2]Husain Shahi, 41; Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 9-10; Tarikh-i-Ali, 132-33.

Jammu where they could not be pursued easily. The Abdali was very much enraged at the depredations of the Sikhs and wanted to chastise them thoroughly; but he had to withdraw to Afghanistan on account of the growing intensity of the hot weather and a rebellion which had broken out in his disjointed dominions in his absence. In order to drive out the Sikhs from their hill fastnesses and to secure regular help for the Lahore subahdar in his expeditions against the Sikhs, Ahmad Shah confirmed his alliance with Ranjit Dev of Jammu by the gift of the three Badshahi parganahs of Zafarwal, Sankatra and Aurangabad.[1]

The Durrani then took up the administration of the province into his own hands, and appointed his own son Timur Shah as subahdar of the Punjab with his commander-in-chief Jahan Khan as his assistant.[2] 10,000 Persian troops of his special contingent were left in Lahore with Timur Shah, and he was allowed to enlist a separate army of India-born Turki, Persian and Afghan soldiers. Satisfied with these arrangements, he marched for Qandahar.

[1]Shamshir Khalsa, 93. Khazana-i-Amira, 100. Sialkot District Gazetteer, p. 16.

[2]Miskin, 139.

CHAPTER V.

THE SIKHS AND TIMUR SHAH, MAY 1757-MAY 1758.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

In their conflict with the Mughals (1739-56), the Sikhs had opposed them with a certain measure of success and had risen from the low level of distress and desperation to the exalted position of privilege and opportunity. They had established their protectorate over a large part of the province, and it was probable that they would have soon succeeded in setting themselves up as absolute masters of these lands. But another enemy had appeared already from the north-west, whose forces of overwhelming magnitude carried everything before them and thus threw back the progress of the Sikhs for about a decade. This was Ahmad Shah Durrani.

Their contest with the Durrani involved them in greater adversity. Time after time was Amritsar captured and their holy shrines pulled down and polluted. They were terribly persecuted and driven from pillar to post. But after each defeat the Sikhs rose with unabated vigour, heroically seizing on every opportunity which offered them support, and thus ultimately emerged triumphant from a struggle with the mightiest ruler of his age.

Ahmad Shah during his fourth invasion crushed the Mughal power of Delhi, seizing the province of Sirhind from the Empire and appointing his nominee Najib-ud-daulah in the capital to control all the important affairs of the Empire. His expedition (1759-61) saw a nearly entire destruction of the Maratha power in the north.

His sixth campaign (1762-63) aimed at annihilating the rising Sikh power which stood between him and his possession of the Punjab. With this view he inflicted upon the Sikhs a crushing defeat at Kup in 1762, massacring about 12,000 of them.

But a sudden rise has a sudden fall too. These three expeditions had seen Ahmad Shah Abdali at the zenith of his power, while the following three were to witness him declining to his nadir. During his seventh campaign (1763-64) he met with a tough opposition from his bearded enemies and had to withdraw from Lahore without achieving anything. His eighth invasion (1764-65) was equally fruitless, and in his onward march towards Delhi he was so severely obstructed that he had to fight always on the defensive. During his ninth expedition (1766-67), he was constantly harassed by the Sikhs, so much so that he tried to win them over by favours and concessions, but utterly failed in it. In his last invasion (1769) he could not proceed farther than the Jhelum. By this time the Sikhs had securely established themselves as absolute masters of the major portion of the plains of the Punjab between the Indus and the Jumna. To the course of this glorious achievement of the Sikhs we now turn.

2. Sikhs are disturbed in their quiet progress.

In the last chapter we left the Sikhs as having established their right of protection over a large portion of territory on receiving the payment of a certain sum of money from each village. Thus each chief was busy in extending his protectorate over the country in his respective neighbourhood. The Sikhs were, therefore, suspending their activities of free-booting as the neighbouring

villages were coming under their protection voluntarily. In this rather peaceful avocation, however, they were soon disturbed by the Afghan Government of Lahore.

3. Jahan Khan's fight with the Sikhs, c. November 11, 1757.

Ahmad Shah Durrani, though very much annoyed with the Sikhs, could not personally subdue them, as he was in a hurry to go back to his own country. He therefore left strict injunctions with his experienced general Jahan Khan to suppress the Sikhs for all the excesses which they had committed. Jahan Khan soon set himself to this task ; but the veteran Afghan general proved an utter failure in this business on account of his rash temper and unwise statesmanship. In order to assure himself of a plentiful supply of money in the form of land-revenue and trade-taxes, Jahan Khan tried to establish peace and order in the country. He achieved a fair measure of success in this undertaking in the beginning. "Justice was done in the capital and the districts, and the roads became safe for traffic once more."[1] The Sikhs were pursued everywhere and were consequently forced to seek shelter partly in the Himalayan tracts and partly in the desert of Malwa.

One of the Sikh chiefs who had retired to Malwa was Dip Singh. Stopping his depredations, he stayed at Damdama Sahib and busied himself in making a copy of the *Granth*, the holy book of the Sikhs. He was inspired by the writings of the Gurus and felt enraged at the desecration of their sacred temple and tank at Amritsar by Ahmad Shah Abdali. He decided to

[1]Sarkar, ii. 67.

celebrate the Dewali festival at Amritsar and to repair the holy buildings. The execution of such a plan was full of danger, but Dip Singh was firm. A number of his band responded to his call and resolved to irrigate the Guru's temple and the tank with their life-blood. Leaving his nephew Sada Singh in charge of the shrine, Dip Singh raised a band of followers from the villages of Jaga, Bahman, Nahanawala, Banjhoke, Guruchautra, Phul, Mehraj, Daraj, Bhachhu, Gobindpura, Kot and Lakhi Jungle, numbering in all about 5,000. Then they marched towards Amritsar, and on their way halted at Tarantaran, another sacred place of the Sikhs. Here they tied festal ribbons round their wrists and sprinkled saffron on their turbans in order to prepare themselves for a sacrifice.[1] Soon after they arrived at Amritsar, where a fight with Jahan Khan took place which Miskin, the eye-witness, thus describes :—

"One day a paper of news from an intelligencer informed Jahan Khan that a large body of Sikhs had assembled at Chak Guru for a (religious) bath and were causing tumult and violence. The viceroy's troops under Haji Atai Khan were out in the neighbourhood for subduing the country, settling matters, and chastising them (the Sikhs). The Wazir wrote a letter to Sardar Haji Atai Khan informing him about the disturbances. He asked him to reach the Chak by a sudden march with all his troops on a certain day, promising that he also would arrive there at the appointed time in order to send this lost sect to the dwelling place of destruction. He also issued a proclamation in the city of Lahore after

[1]Sarup Lal's Tarikh-i-Sikhan, 71 72 ; Dastur-ul-Amal Sikhan, 130-32 ; Raj Khalsa, 40-41.

the manner of Vilayat that everybody whether a servant of the State or otherwise, possessing a horse, must follow him to the battle-field. Accordingly, the Begam Sahiba also was asked to send all her servants under Tahmasp Khan (Miskin). The Begam at once sent for all her attendants, numbering 25 and ordered them (to march) in the company of Miskin. Qasim Khan (the hero of Patti) also joined them. Then they joined the Wazir's troops, who were about 2,000 in number. By nightfall they arrived at Sarai Khankhanan, which was 6 kos away from Lahore. The next day they reached a place, 2 kos on this side of the Chak, (village Golerwal, 5 miles from Amritsar). They were surprised to find that Haji Atai Khan had delayed his march in spite of strict instructions.

"The Sikhs got this intelligence and attacked us on all the four sides. The battle began and both the parties got busy in showering fire on each other. The Sikhs closely besieged us and from every side kept the fighting hot and distressed us so much that many of our men turned to flee in desperation. The Wazir also with agility and daring tried to stop them. At that time this Miskin with two mounted troopers was with him. But the Sikhs had left no path for the fleeing soldiers to escape by. At last they returned to the army disappointed and dejected. Jahan Khan then took out his sword and wounded some of his own men who had fled saying, 'Why did you flee?' In short, we all gathered together and got busy in fighting again. The matter came to such a pass that none felt life left in him. But this Miskin displayed so much courage that nobody would believe him if he were to describe it. At this stage Haji Atai Khan arrived with a triumphant army; and the ill-natured Sikhs who were

feeling proud of their courage and bravery were defeated by the relentless swords and the ruthless guns. The wretched (Sikhs) could not face opposition and took to flight. The victorious army gave them a close pursuit as far as Chakguru. It was a screened place (the shrine of their Holy Book), and at its door we saw five Sikh infantry-men (standing on guard). The heroes of our troop rushed at and killed them. At this place Mir Ne'mat-ullah Khan, one of the Lahore grandees, lost his life in the struggle. Then our triumphant army encamped there."[1]

Dip Singh and his five devoted jathadars, besides many others, lost their lives in this battle. A monument was raised to the memory of Baba Dip Singh at Ramsar (near the site of Ram Rauni fort) ; that of Ram Singh jathadar in the Katra (street) of the Ramgarhias, and of Sajjan Singh, Bahadur Singh, Agarh Singh and Hira Singh at Guru-ka-Bagh ; while a Shahid Ganj (abode of martyrs) commemorates the martyrdom of Kuar Singh, Mana Singh, Sant Singh etc.[2]

As Baba Dip Singh and his followers had given up their lives while performing a religious duty without causing any harm to anybody, they were all given the title of *Shahids* (martyrs) by their co-religionists. After Dip Singh, the leadership of his band passed on to another leader of note named Karm Singh, who retained the title of *Shahid* for himself as well as for his group of followers.

[1] Miskin, 162-65.

[2] Sikh Martyrs, 196-99 ; *Punjab Notes and Queries*, ii. September 1885, 208-209.

After his victory Jahan Khan, from religious zeal destroyed and polluted all the places of worship of the Sikhs at Amritsar and filled up the sacred tank.[1]

4. Sodhi Barbhag Singh of Kartarpur belaboured, c December, 1757.

Jahan Khan's wrath soon found another victim in a Sikh priest named Sodhi Barbhag Singh of Kartarpur, who being absorbed in religious devotion led a peaceful life and had nothing to do with the depredations of the other Sikhs. We reproduce below the contemporary account of Miskin.[2] "Two Afghans troopers were coming from Sirhind (to Lahore) and by chance were killed in the territory of the fort of (Kartarpur). On learning this news Jahan Khan at once despatched some bailiffs after the manner of Vilayat, to compel the headman of the place (to produce the culprits). The said chaudhari (Sodhi Barbhag Singh, in charge of Gurdwara Tham Sahib) was the famous chief of the territory; nay, he was a well-known and respectable religious guide of the Sikhs and was the proprietor (of land) worth lakhs of revenue. The men following the Persian practice, beat him so hard that he was brought to death's door and saved his life only by escaping at night to some unknown village (Bahiri in Hoshiarpur District). The bailiffs then returned disappointed without gaining anything. From that moment

[1]Browne, ii. 19 ; Malcolm, 94.

[2]Miskin, 165. Sazawal.—"A collector of revenue ; an officer especially appointed to take charge of and collect the revenue of an estate from the management of which the owner or farmer has been removed ; a land steward, bailiff, an agent appointed by a landowner or a lessor to enforce payment of rent due from tenants or lease-holders." (C. P. C. ii. 448.)

the peace and orderly rule which had been recently established in the country disappeared and the Sikhs rose in rebellion on all sides."

This was not all. The bailiffs at the advice and help of Nasir Ali of Jullundur pulled down the Sikh temple,[1] polluted it by slaughtering a cow and forcibly converted all the Hindu and Sikh women of the place to Islam and sacked the neighbourhood thoroughly.

[1]The village and Gurdwara were both founded by Guru Arjun in 1598. The original volume of the Adigranth in the handwriting of Guru Arjun, venerated by all the Sikhs as the most precious of their religious relics, was deposited here in 1664 A.D. Pilgrims flock to this place all the year round. Maharajah Ranjit Singh made a grant of a lakh and a quarter of rupees in 1833 towards the building of the temple and he set apart the revenues of village Fatahpur for the maintenence of the institution. Sadhu Singh, the priest, took this Granth Sahib to Lahore in 1830 at the request of Ranjit Singh and received the highest honours as its guardian. A daily offering of Rs. 86 was made and special doles of Rs. 600 were received on the first and last day of the month; while once a year a valuable shawl and a horse were presented in the Maharajah's name. This sacred volume was also taken to Patiala in 1860 at the desire of Maharajah Narendar Singh. He fixed a daily allowance of Rs. 51 for its guardians and made them stay with him for three whole years, vainly trying to acquire it. This Granth now rests at Kartarpur in the Gurdwara Thamji. The book is shown to the public every Sunday in the Shishmahal, and the Charhawa or voluntary offerings made before it form an important item in the income of the Gurdwara. In 1859, Sadhu Singh prepared a very handsome copy of the original Granth Sahib for transmission to Queen Victoria, who most graciously accepted the gift; and Her Majesty's acknowledgments were conveyed to the priest in a letter from the Secretary of State. (Griffin's Chiefs and Families of Note; 1890, pp. 295-97.

Ratan S. 413, Gyan S. 722.

5. Defeat of the Afghans by Adina Beg and the Sikhs in concert, *c.* December, 1757.

The vigorous fanatical outrages committed by Jahan Khan on the Sikhs were keenly resented by them. They provoked the whole race to such a degree that they resolved to increase their power as quickly as possible in order to seize the prize which was being snatched away from them by the usurping Durranis. Consequently all of them retired to the Siwalik hills in the north of Hoshiarpur, where they concerted a plan of action in which they were soon joined by the famous Adina Beg Khan, to whose story we now turn.

We have already stated that during the Durrani invasion Adina Beg Khan the Governor of the Jullundur Doab had fled away to the desert of Hansi and Hissar. After some time he escaped to the Siwalik hills and sought shelter in a hill called Khali Balwan (about 80 miles north of Hoshiarpur). After taking charge of the Panjab Jahan Khan called upon Adina Beg to take up the administration of the Jullundur Doab and to present himself at Lahore.

Adina Beg had rightly suspicions against Jahan Khan. The veteran chief consequently evaded prompt compliance. Jahan Khan, thereupon, pillaged the Jullundur Doab and threatened Adina Beg with pursuit and punishment. The wary Adina Beg then showed willingness to undertake the administration of the Doab provided he was exempted from attending the court. Jahan Khan agreed and issued to him a patent and a *khilat* for an annual subsidy of 36 lakhs of rupees.[1]

[1] Miskin 145, 165 ; Khazana-i-Amira, 100 ; Siyar, iii. 63 ; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 120a.

After some time Jahan Khan demanded Adina's immediate presence in Lahore. Adina Beg distrusted the Afghan general and flatly refused to come. Jahan Khan was annoyed and sent a strong detachment of his troops under Murad Khan to seize Adina. Sadiq Beg Khan, the Deputy Governor of Sirhind, and Khwajah Mirza Khan with a strong army including Raja Bhup Singh, the famous chief of the hill territories at the head of his own 25,000 experienced and valourous cavaliers, joined them.

Adina Beg, who knew all about this formidable army, transferred his camp to the foot of the hills where he could give slip to the enemy in case of defeat. He also won over Sodhi Barbhag Singh and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia by the payment of a heavy tribute, besides granting them many concessions of loot. Thus the whole Dal Khalsa got ready to fight on his side.[1]

Murad Khan crossed the Beas and arrayed his forces against Adina Beg Khan. In the engagement that followed, the Afghans were severely defeated and all their stores and baggages fell into the hands of Adina. The Sikhs then "ravaged all the districts of the Doab" and collected an immense booty. Adina Beg Khan from fear of Jahan Khan took refuge in the impenetrable retreats of Nalagarh hills, and Jahan Khan appointed Sarfaraz Khan to the faujdari of the Jullundur Doab.[2]

[1]Ghulam Ali, i. 55-56; Cf. Ahmad Shah, 871-72; Ganesh Das 156. Siyar, iii. 64.

[2]Ghulam Ali, i. 56. Ratan Singh, 420-21 and Gyan Singh, 727-28 state that the Sikhs under the explicit injunctions of Sodhi Barbhagh Singh, burnt the city of Jullundur, the home of Nasir Ali who was responsible for the atrocities committed at Kartarpur,

6. THE SIKHS BAFFLE THE AFGHANS, c. JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1758.

The impolitic lack of statesmanship in Jahan Khan soon brought ruin on the Afghan kingdom in India, and utter lawlessness and confusion arose everywhere. The Sikhs contributed the most in bringing about this state. A Marathi despatch says :—" The Sikhs gathering together by our advice, began to upset Abdali's rule ; from some places they expelled his outposts. They defeated Sa'adat Khan Afridi, plundered all the Jullundur Doab,[1] and forced him to flee to the hills. By the order of the subahdar, Khwajah Abid Khan came from Lahore with 200,000 horse and foot to fight the Sikhs. In the end he was defeated, many of his captains were slain, all of his camp and baggage were plundered and all the artillery left behind by Abdali was captured." This state of affairs is also testified to by Miskin, then present in Lahore. Remarking about the helplessness of the Afghans and the boldness of the Sikhs, he says :—" After this every force in whatever direction it was sent, came back defeated and vanquished. Even the environs of Lahore were not safe. Every night thousands of Sikhs used to fall upon the city and plunder the suburbs lying outside the walls of Lahore; but no force was sent out to repel them and the city gates

massacred men and children, reduced the women to slavery, defiled the mosques with pigs' blood and insulted the dead body of Nasir Ali, by digging it out of the grave and thrusting pigs' flesh into his mouth.

Cf. Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan in Elliot, viii. 266 ; Khazana-i-Amira, 100 ; Siyar, iii. 64 ; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 102a ; Irshad-ul-Mustaqim, 295a and 317a ; Imperial Gazetteer, 1908, Punjab, i. 421.

[1] Miskin, 166. Siyar, iii. 64.

were closed one hour after nightfall. It brought extreme disgrace to the Government and utter lawlessness prevailed."[1]

The Sikhs soon found another opportunity of wreaking full vengeance upon the Afghans and gratified their passion for revenge by massacring large numbers of them and finally seeing them expelled from the Punjab. This they did by becoming an ally of the Marathas, the story of whose deeds in the Punjab we are going to trace in the next section.

7. The Maratha invasion of the Punjab.

Adina Beg, the ex-faujdar of the Jullundur Doab, was feeling the loss of his office much. He was also convinced that the Durrani wrath was bound to fall upon him sooner or latter. So he sent repeated requests to Raghunath Rao, then in Delhi, to extend the Maratha dominions as far as the Indus, pointing out the rich harvest of spoil within their easy reach and also promising, on his own part, to pay them one lakh of rupees for every day of marching and Rs. 50,000 for halting.[2]

[1] S. P. D. ii. 83, dated 17-11-1757 but bears the note of interrogation which shows that the Editor is not certain about this date. I have put these events in January 1758. Cf. Sarkar, ii. 69-70.

Malcolm in Sketch on p. 94 also remarks to the same effect when he writes :—"They all assembled at Lahore and not only attempted to cut off the communication between the fort and country, but collected and divided the revenues of the towns and villages around it."

Miskin, 166.

[2] Miskin, 167-68; Khazana-i-Amira, 100; Chahar Gul Shujai, 463b; Husain Shahi, 43; Siyar, iii. 64; Ghulam 56; Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, 55b.

The Marathas readily embraced such an occasion of temptation and promise. One division of their troops under Malhar Rao crossed the Jumna by the end of December and laid siege to the Afghan fort of Kunjpura. Abdul Samad Khan, the governor of Sirhind, was busy in fighting Alah Singh of Patiala, had imposed a fine on him and besieged his fort of Sunam (40 miles south-west of Patiala). On hearing of the close approach of the Marathas, he was very much perturbed, settled terms with Alah Singh at once and hurried to Sirhind on the 12th January 1758. He started repairs on the fort, and dug trenches round the city. Malhar Rao, however, recrossed the Jumna on exacting a tribute of five lakhs and thus gave relief to Abdul Samad Khan.[1]

8. THE FALL OF SIRHIND, MARCH 1758.

The Maratha invasion of the Punjab began about the 2nd of February. Raghunath Rao, at the head of his vast forces was at Mughal-ki-Sarai near Ambala on the 5th, at Rajpura on the 6th, at Aluenki Sarai Banjara on the 7th and in the neighbourhood of Sirhind on the 8th March, 1758.[2] The account of the siege of Sirhind, in the words of a contemporary historian of Delhi, is reproduced here. "The Maratha troops beyond number (said to be two lakhs of men) from this side and Adina Beg Khan collecting an army of the Sikhs, the worshippers of Nanak who practised highway robbery in the province of the Punjab

[1] Malhar's women came to Kurukshetra for a religious bath on the 9th January. They were attacked at Shahabad by a contingent of Abdul Samad Khan. The Maratha guard fought well, slew many Afghans and seized their horses. (Rajwade, i. 85; Sarkar, ii. 72).

[2] Kaghzat-i-Bhagwant Rai in Karam Singh, 295-97.

from the other side of the Sutlej, came to Sirhind. Abdul Samad Khan, Abdali's governor, finding himself unable to fight shut himself up in the fort. The Maratha army and Adina Beg Khan laid siege to the place. After a few days of firing Abdul Samad Khan and Jangbaz Khan fled away. The Marathas overtook and imprisoned them. As the Marathas and the Sikhs knew nothing but plundering, they so thoroughly looted the inhabitants of Sirhind, high and low, that none, either male or female, had a cloth on his or her person left. They pulled down the houses and carried off the timber. They dug out floors (in search of buried hoards) and seized whatever they could lay their hands on."[1]

The news of the Maratha siege of Sirhind had reached Jahan Khan. He immediately came out of Lahore at the head of 2,000 troops and wasted 40 days in scouting for intelligence in the Jullundur Doab, but did not venture to face the formidable enemy. On hearing that the Marathas had crossed the Sutlej and were fast approaching Lahore, he returned to the Capital and finding himself unable to stem this torrent of invasion decided on retiring precipitately to Afghanistan.

9. Expulsion of the Afghans from the Punjab, April 1758.

Miskin, who was an eye-witness of the Lahore events, gives an interesting pen-picture of the expulsion of the Afghans from the Punjab. He says that Jahan Khan decided on vacating Lahore (c. 9th April). He set up his camp at Shahdara across the Ravi and conveyed the Timur's mother and his own women and relations

[1] Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 311. S.P.D. xxvii. 220.

of all. The other Durrani chiefs and all the troops carried their baggage and property in cart-loads by repeated trips day and night. In the meanwhile the news was received that the invaders had crossed the Beas and that their advance guard under Adina Beg Khan and Manaji Paygude lay encamped five or six kos from Lahore. That very day at noon Timur Shah crossed the river, followed by his wazir. Their troops set fire to the goods which they could not carry away. The eunuchs then mounted the women of Timur and Jahan in litters on camels and on horses, and the whole Afghan camp moved onward towards Kabul, while Miskin quietly brought Mughlani Begam and her maiden daughter in a covered bullock-cart to Lahore and admitted them into their residential quarters. On this day the masterless city was in a state of utter confusion and terror, and robbers and marauders of the town and its neighbourhood were busy in plundering the defenceless people of their money and property. Miskin, however, did a little bit in checking the lawlessness prevailing in the city by shutting all the gates at nightfall and patrolling the streets all night.[1]

At about nine o'clock, the following morning, 500 Maratha cavaliers and 100 of Khwajah Mirza's Mughalia troops under 'Ashur Ali Khan, whom Miskin knew well, arrived at the Delhi Gate of Lahore and showed him written orders from their chiefs. Miskin at once opened the gate and entrusted the city to their care. Khwajah Mirza Khan at the head of 1,000 Mughals and 10,000 Marathas reached the next day. The same morning Timur had retired from Shahdara, leaving several thousand soldiers in the rear in charge of Mir Hazar Khan.

[1] Miskin, 171-78 ; Cf. Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 312.

Khwajah Mirza Khan crossed the Ravi and fell upon Mir Hazar Khan who fled away after a little fighting. They were, however, overtaken and besieged on all sides by the Marathas and after being defeated their leader was captured. At this news Timur Shah and Jahan Khan grew alarmed and quickened their speed.

Jahan Khan halted at Sarai Kanchi, 36 miles north-west of Lahore, but was overtaken by Khwajah Mirza and numerous Maratha and Sikh troops who had joined him on the way. They lacked siege material, and Jahan Khan taking advantage of this fact succeeded in slipping out of the Sarai under cover of darkness (4th day of the new moon). They soon arrived at the Chenab below Wazirabad. Timur and Jahan Khan with their Durrani soldiers had hardly crossed the deep, wide, extremely cold and swiftly running river, when the Marathas and the Sikhs came upon the scene. At this time all the Uzbak, Qizilbash and Afghan soldiers with Timur's entire camp and baggage were on the eastern side of the river and all of them fell an easy prey to the numerous hordes of the Marathas and Sikhs.[1]

The victors then entered their encampment and after slaying most of Timur's soldiers, plundered it, and a huge lot of heavy baggage and property that Timur had accumulated during his administration of this region fell into their hands, and it was brought to Lahore by 20,000 Marathas and 10,000 Sikhs in several trips. Those Afghans who had been left alive were driven in bonds by the Sikhs to Amritsar, where they were compelled under blows and whips to clean out all the

[1]Tarikh-i-Alamgri Sani, 312 ; Miskin, 178-79.

rubbish with which Ahmad Shah had filled their tank. Khwajah Mirza also enlisted many of the captives in his army.[1]

The Marathas did not carry on the pursuit across the Chenab,[2] because the river was too deep and cold to be easily forded and the country beyond it was inhabited by hostile people. Raghunath and Adina Beg had reached Lahore on the 11th April. Adina Beg Khan constructed in the Shalamar Garden, at the cost of one lakh of rupees, a magnificent platform on which Raghunath Rao was seated and given a public reception. The fountains of the garden were made to play with rose-water and the whole city was illuminated.[3]

Raghu-nath Rao did not like to stay in the Punjab and keep it under his personal charge for several reasons. The Punjab was far away from the home of the Marathas and the rough and slow means of communication of those days made it difficult for them to pay frequent visits to their home. It was also subject to extreme changes of climate, the burning summer and the freezing winter. The rivers were not easily fordable in the rainy

[1] S.P.D. xxvii. 218; Miskin, 179; Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan, in Elliot, viii. 267; Tarikh-i-Ali, 134; Khazana-i-Amira, 100-101; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 102a-b; Husain Shahi, 45; Chahar Gulzar Shujai, 463b; Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 10; Ahmad Shah, 873; Shah Yusaf, 59b-60a. Husain Shahi, 45. Cf. Bakhtmal, 81; Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 10.

[2] The careless historians Kincaid and Parasnis, in their vol. ii, p. 184, hold that the Marathas planted their banner on the walls of Attock, a statement which is not borne out by the facts. The Marathas remained only on this side of the Chenab. Cf. S.P.D. xxvii. 218.

[3] Ali-ud-din, 118a.

season, as they swelled on account of snow melting on the Himalayas. They were also placed in the midst of a hostile population in Northern India which did not look upon the Marathas in a friendly way and called them *Ghanim*, *i.e.*, plunderers. Being the frontier province, it was also exposed to foreign attacks, the brunt of which was to be borne by them if they kept it under their control. To crown all, they were exasperated by the Sikh disturbances and thus they were not sure of a steady income. In view of all these circumstances they decided to place it in charge of Adina Beg Khan, who was an experienced and seasoned administrator and could successfully handle the Sikhs. They therefore conferred the title of Nawab on Adina Beg Khan and leased out the province to him for 75 lakhs of rupees a year. Then the Marathas returned towards Delhi, arriving at Thanesar on the 5th June where they had a religious bath on Somawati Amawash.[1]

Adina Beg did not like to stay in Lahore, the old Capital. He was desirous of settling at Batala, a famous town to the north of Amritsar, where he fixed his head quarters. He appointed Khwajah Mirza Khan, now his son-in-law, to the government of Lahore with Khwajah Said Khan, the brother of the former as his deputy; while his old ally Sadiq Beg Khan was given charge of the administration of Sirhind. Khwajah Mirza did not like the presence of Mughlani Begam in Lahore and

[1] Delhi Chronicle, 156; S.P.D. xxvii, 218; Nur-ud-din, 21b; Khazana-i-Amira, 101; Siyar, iii 64; Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, 56a; Khushwaqt Rai, 91; Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 10; Tarikh-i-Ali, 134; Irshad-ul-Mustaqim, 295b, Hugel, 265-66.

requested Adina Beg Khan to send her away. Adina Beg consequently took her with him to Batala.[1]

10. MYTH OF SIKH OCCUPATION OF LAHORE IN 1758.

Most of the writers on Sikh history have stated that the Sikhs alone expelled Timur Shah and Jahan Khan from Lahore, occupied the provincial Capital, declared their sovereignty, and their leader Jassa Singh struck coins in his own name.[2]

Browne is the earliest writer who has mentioned this in his book. He based his account on the authority of two Punjabis whose dates are admitted as "extremely defective" even by Browne himself.

Browne compiled his "India Tracts" nearly thirty years after this date, and we cannot say whether Browne's Punjabi friends were eye-witnesses of this event as described by them. Hence we can safely reject their authority in view of the more tangible evidence of the eye-witness Miskin, and the Marathas. The rest of the authorities are much later and do not claim to have based their statement on contemporary evidence. There is, however, no denying the fact that the Sikhs did capture Lahore and their chief leader Jassa Singh Ahluwalia did strike the coin. But all this took place about three years later and not in 1758, as we shall see later on.

[1] Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 360. Miskin, 179-80. From this point we lose Miskin's narrative of the Lahore affairs, the primary source of our information. Miskin stayed in the Punjab for four years more, living at Batala, Jammu, Delhi, Sialkot, and Sirhind and supplies us with only fragmentary account of the Sikh deeds.

[2] Cf. Browne, ii. 19; Malcolm, 94-95; Bakhtmal, 82; Khushwaqt Rai, 104; Elphinstone's Kabul, ii. 289; Cunningham, 105; Latif's Punjab, 231; Gordon, 61; Narang, 148.

CHAPTER VI

BEGINNING OF SIKH TERRITORIAL ACQUISITION, JUNE 1758—OCTOBER 1759.

1. ADINA BEG KHAN FIGHTS THE SIKHS, JUNE—SEPTEMBER, 1758.

After the retirement of the Afghans, Adina Beg Khan found fortune smiling upon him. The Delhi Government was too weak and distracted to challenge his supremacy, while the northern danger from the Durrani was removed by having brought the southerners into the Punjab. The main consideration for him was the collection of 75 lakh of rupees which he had to pay to the Marathas, and this huge sum could not be collected till there was peace in the country and the peasants and the merchants could follow their peaceful avocations without any molestation. This could not be expected until the unbridled ambition of the Sikhs was checked. He, therefore, advised the Sikhs to bring their lawless activities to an end. But this was not going to be.

Adina Beg could not remain silent. He was a lover of discipline, a man of action, firm in mind and tenacious of purpose. Being born and bred in this province, Adina knew perfectly well when and how to strike at them. He had an army of 10,000 horse and foot. To strengthen himself against the Sikhs he enlisted a large number of more troops and called upon the noted zamindars and chiefs in every part of the province to join him in removing the Sikh menace and restoring peace and order to the country. Consequently, the Gakhar, the Jhanjhuha and the Gheba zamindars of the Sind Sagar

Doab, Chaudhari Rahmat Khan Waraech in the Chaj Doab, Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu, Chaudhari Pir Muhammad Chattha, Izzat Bakhsh, Murad Bakhsh, Bhatti and other zamindars in the Rechna Doab, Raja Ghamand Chand, Nidhan Singh Randhawa, Mirza Muhammad Anwar of Kadian, Afghans of Kasur and Daulpur in the Bari Doab, Afghans of Jullundur and Alawalpur, Rai Ibrahim of Kapurthala, Rais of Bankala, Dasuha, Khardunbala and Phagwara and Rajputs of Rahon were persuaded to join him in his war against the Sikhs.[1]

The above-mentioned zamindars joined by Adina's troops often fought with the Sikhs, who felt dismayed at these activities of their old friend and new foe. A strong body of them in order to overawe Adina Beg appeared in the neighbourhood of Adinanagar, the Capital of Adina, who despatched Diwan Hira Mal and Guru 'Aqil Das of Jandiala against them. The battle, which was fiercely contested on both sides, took place near Kadian. The Diwan was slain and his troops dispersed, while his entire baggage fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Adina Beg was grieved at this and determined to take stringent measures against them.[2]

He at once issued strict orders to the lambardars, zamindars, and other chiefs to join his forces and made them take an oath that they would attack the Sikhs and drive them away ; and that wherever a Sikh was found, he was to be immediately put to death or captured. He also knew that the best hiding-places of the Sikhs were

[1]Miskin, 167. Ahmad Shah, 882-82. Ali-ud-din, 118b-119a.

[2]Ibid, 119a. (Strangely enough the author says that both the Jassa Singhs fought on the side of Adina Beg Khan, which seems apparently improbable.)

the *palas* jungles in the Manjha, and therefore he aimed at destroying them. That Adina Beg Khan succeeded well in this undertaking is proved by the testimony of Ahmad Shah of Batala, whom we quote below :—

"All the Punjab zamindars unwillingly submitted to him and started devising plans for rooting out the Sikhs. Of all the zamindars of the Punjab the Randhawas showed the greatest readiness in destroying the Sikhs. (Adina Beg) ordered that in no district and parganah the Sikhs should be allowed to live. They should either be captured or killed. Mir Aziz Bakhshi was one of his most trusted nobles. Adina appointed him to this duty at the head of several thousand horse. He also entrusted to him 1,000[1] carpenters with steel hatchets aud axes for the purpose of cutting down and clearing away the jungles and forests where Sikhs used to seek shelter, so that no hiding place might exist for the people of this sect. The Sikhs were very much perturbed and relaxed their activities. Some fled away and hid themselves ; but a body of them, bolder than the rest, showed the greatest gallantry and courage in going to Amritsar quite ready to lay down their lives at the place of their Gurus. They took shelter in their mud fortress near Amritsar called Ram Rauni. Nand Singh Sanghania was the leader of this body. Jassa Singh (carpenter) with two of his brothers and other companions was also among the number, while Jai Singh Kanhaya and Amar Singh Kingra with their followers were likewise there, remaining concealed in the fort. They also took some defensive measures. Mir Aziz, on hearing this, laid siege to the fort. The Sikhs, getting desperate, fought with great

[1]4,000 carpenters, according to M'Gregor, i. 132.

bravery. Jai Singh Kanhaya and Jassa Singh made a sally from the fort and killed great numbers of their assailants with matchlocks and arrows ; they then returned to the fort and shut the gates. Jai Singh mounted on a swift-running and spirited mare, displayed remarkable gallantry by piercing into the midst of the enemy. Though matchlocks were aimed at him, and he was attacked on all sides, yet none dared to come near him and he escaped within the fort. At last Mir Aziz being tired succeeded one night in making a hole in the wall of the fort. The Sikhs at length sallied out with the result that many were killed and several taken prisoners."[1]

2. SADIQ BEG KHAN OF SIRHIND DEFEATS THE SIKHS.

Finding hard days in store for them the Sikhs now fled towards Malwa. This territory was in the Sirhind division, where Sadiq Beg Khan was the governor. No sooner had the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej than Sadiq Beg, under strict injunctions from Adina Beg Khan, began to oppose them. He engaged them in an action which was fought near the village Sanghulan. The governor's swivels opened a heavy fire on the Sikhs and it created a havoc in their ranks. They were therefore forced to run away for their lives, leaving their camp and baggage (bahir) to be looted by the enemy.

The Sikhs were given a hot pursuit by Sadiq's troops. They had gone only four or five miles away when they felt the loss of their stores and baggage. They suddenly returned, and as the enemy had left their heavy guns behind, these fell an easy prey to the wrath of the

[1]Ahmad Shah, 981-82 ; Cf. Sohan Lal, Appendix to Vol. i. 18-19 ; M'Gregor, i. 131-32.

Khalsa. In the meanwhile Sadiq Beg had brought order among his troops, who again opened fire on them. The Sikhs hurriedly took up their wounded comrades, left the field and reached Daroli to gather their co-religionists.[1]

3. ADINA BEG KHAN DIES, 15TH SEPTMBER 1758.

As we have seen so often before, nature invariably sided with the Sikhs, particularly when their fortunes were at the lowest ebb and the persecution of the Government was about to succeed in crushing them. Likewise did providence help them even on this occasion when the wily Adina Beg had set himself to the task of destroying their sect root and branch. The same year, within a short space of five months saw Adina Beg at the height of his power and in his grave. He was suddenly taken ill with colic early in September and quietly passed away at Batala on the 15th of the same month. His dead body was buried at Khanpur near Jullundur according to his will.[2]

[1]Ratan Singh, 425-27; Gyan Singh, 734-35; Shamshir Khalsa, 97.

[2]Miskin (182) present in Batala at the time of Adina's death, does not give the date of this event. A Marathi letter in S. P. D ii. 96, dated 7-10-1758, places it on the 12th Muharram (the 15th September 1758); Farhatu-n-Nazirin in Elliot, viii. 169, assigns 11th Muharram (the 14th September), while Khazana-i-Amira, 101, mentions only Muharram, the name of the month A contemporary Delhi Chronicler, in Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 359, followed by Sarkar, ii. 77, says that his death took place on the 10th Safar (the 13th October).

The date of the last mentioned authority, however, seems to be apparently wrong. If Adina Beg had died on the 13th October, how could the Marathi letter dated 7-10-1758 have stated this event? It appears probable that the news of Adina's death reached the author of Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani on the 13th October, when the event was recorded by him in his diary.

4. ANARCHY IN THE PUNJAB, OCTOBER 1758-OCTOBER 1759.

The death of Adina Beg Khan, the last of the noted governors of the Punjab, was a signal for the forces of disruption, chaos and confusion to display themselves once more in the fair land of the five rivers. Immediately after learning the news of the demise of the Punjab viceroy, Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir, sent Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan and Abaidullah Khan Kashmiri to the Punjab, outwardly on a mission to put the affairs of the country in order, but as a matter of fact to escheat the cash and property of the dead subahdar.

In the meanwhile the news of Adina's death had reached Raghunath and Malhar, who were in the neighbourhood of Malwa on their way home. They at once despatched Antaji Manakeshwar and other Maratha chiefs with a strong force. This Maratha army came to Delhi in November. Antaji Manakeshwar remained in Delhi and got control over all the State matters, while the other Maratha chiefs marched for the Punjab. Sayyid Jamil-ud-din had proceeded as far as Sonipat (27 miles from Delhi) and seeing the Marathas bound for Lahore, hurriedly beat a retreat to the Capital.[1]

In Lahore Khwajah Mirza Khan was busy settling the government affairs, but says the contemporary historian of Delhi, "the worshippers of Nanak (Sikhs) were such rebels and robbers that the governor could not cope with them. The Maratha contingents reached Lahore and its suburbs. Beyond the river Jhelum some Afghans and Gakhars in concert plundered the parganah of Gujrat and crossed over the Jhelum to this side. Khwajah

[1]Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 359-360.

Mirza Khan took a band of the worshippers of Nanak (Sikhs), marched from Lahore and arrived on this side of the river. He fought and defeated them with the result that the Afghans fled away (to the other side of the Jhelum). Mirza Khan crossed over the river and took up an entrenched position, The Afghans and Gakhars assembled this time in larger numbers and inflicted a defeat upon Khwajah Mirza Khan. On hearing that the Marathas had reached Lahore, the Afghans refrained from coming over to this side of the river (December 1758)."[1]

Khwajah Mirza Khan's position with regard to his own Mughalia troops was also not secure, as is vividly described in Miskin's pages. "Those Qizilbash chiefs whom he had seized from Timur Shah's army united with the Marathas. Among them their leading chiefs were Mirza Ahmad Khan and Salih Khan. Out of these Mirza Ahmad Khan became the subahdar of Lahore and Salih Khan that of Multan. They adopted a thousand and one frauds and tricks, paid some (money) to the Marathas in order to win them over and promised more, and placed Nawab Khwajah Mirza Khan in confinement. They then sent their troops cleverly into the city of Lahore to seize it and also imprisoned Khwajah Said Khan, the brother of the above mentioned Mirza." The Peshwa. despatched his capable general Dattaji Sindhia with a strong force to the Punjab to bring things to a normal state. He reached the bank of the Sutlej early in April and lay encamped at Machhiwara for about three weeks. Adina Beg's son paid him a visit at this place, rendered submission and paid him some of the arrears of tribute of his father. Dattaji appointed Sabaji Sindhia to take over the charge

[1]Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 369.

of Lahore but himself stayed there.[1] It seems he did not venture to advance farther from fear of the Sikhs, as is clear from the account of the Delhi historian: "On finding that in Lahore and around it the Sikhs were predominant and commanded a vast force, making the conquest of the Punjab difficult, Dattaji turned back towards Delhi."[2]

Sabaji succeeded in maintaining peace and order in the country for some time. The vast Maratha armies lying near Delhi at the beck and call of the Maratha Governor of Lahore made the *raisan* and zamindars of the Punjab obey him. With the help of the Sikhs, he also succeeded in beating back Jahan Khan who had led an expedition from Peshawar across the Indus. The Afghan general suffered heavily. He lost his son and a large number of troops, himself receiving several wounds.[3]

In the following October began a mass movement of the Afghan troops into India for a fresh invasion. Their advance-guard under Jahan Khan, the Commander-in-Chief, crossed the Indus. At this time Dattaji Sindhia was too busy in the siege of Shukartal to pay any attention and spare any troops for the Punjab. Sabaji's Maratha troops lay scattered all over the province as far as Multan. "Finding himself incapable of fighting with Jahan Khan he returned from the bank of the river (Ravi) and came to Batala. Jahan Khan, quite

[1]Miskin, 194. S. P. D. ii. 100 ; Sarkar, ii. 78.

[2]Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 205b ; Sarkar, ii. 79.

[3]Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 367. Delhi Chronicle, 165 (The news was received in Delhi on the 19th September) ; Rajwade, vi. 373, gives the credit of this victory to the Sikhs ; Cf. Sarkar, ii. 79.

unopposed arrived at Wazirabad and dispersed his troops on all sides (to raid). Lahore was without a ruler. Jahan Khan despatched 3 or 4 men to Surat Singh Khatri of Lahore with a letter to strike coins and read the khutba in the name of Timur Shah, the son of Ahmad Shah Durrani, and issue a proclamation warning all people not to oppress one another. Sabaji, finding himself unsafe at Batala, came to Jullundur. These events caused a consternation and fright in Sirhind." Adina Beg Khan's widow and sons and Sadiq Beg Khan, the Maratha Governor of Sirhind, all fled away to Delhi. One Maratha general and several soldiers lingering in the vicinity of Lahore were cut to pieces by the Durrani vanguard. A Maratha force coming from Multan was also plundered by the people.[1]

The Sikhs, however, did not fail in their national duty, in which the Marathas had so miserably acquitted themselves. Even in the face of heavy odds they did not allow the Abdali to pass through their country without striking a blow, as is testified to by a Marathi letter which runs:—"Abdali has come to Lahore and fought a great battle with the Sikhs, 2,000 Abdali troops were slain and Jahan Khan was wounded.[2]

[1] Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 397. Siyar, iii. 64. Sarkar, ii. 90.

A Marathi despatch says:—"Behind were 3,000 horse and 3,000 foot near Multan. They came safely to this side of Lahore. In the Doab (Jullundur) the gawars (villagers) have united and made rows. When some of our men had crossed the Sutlej and some were still on the farther bank, they fought and took away 4,000 camels, each worth Rs, 40, looted mohars (gold coins) and rupees. 500 men, naked from the waist upward came yesterday on foot. 1,000 horses, large and small, have come; all the rest have been given up to plunder. A great disaster has befallen us." (Rajwade. i. 146).

[2] Rajwade, i. 146.

5. Settling of the Sikhs as territorial chieftains, October 1758—October 1759.

Adina Beg died on the 15th September and the festival of Diwali fell on the 30th October. Finding no opposition from any quarter, the Sikhs made up their minds to fulfil the prophecy of the last Guru by assuming territorial chieftainships in their respective spheres of activity. It seems probable therefore that they celebrated the Diwali fair of this year with great enthusiasm and rejoicing at Amritsar, where they appear to have declared their new organization of setting up their rule over their protectorates.

By this time the Sikhs had made themselves supreme in the Punjab. They were the only organised power who could defy the tyrannical rule of the Lahore viceroy and could offer resistance to the alien invader. They succeeded where even the Marathas had failed. Therefore, if there was any Indian power which had a moral right to rule over the frontier province of the country, it was the Sikhs.

A couple of years ago they had brought some territories under their protection on receiving Rakhi of 1/5 of the income of the people. Their cavalry swept through the country at harvest time, took their share and repeated the process. The area under the influence of each chief was extended by establishing his claim on the neighbouring villages, refusal to the recognition of which meant ruin. Lands so visited became the recognized field of action of a particular Sardar or party that had originally entered there, and interference with it, though rare at this time, was resented.[1]

[1]Calcutta Review, ii. October-December 1884, p. 187.

The death of Adina Beg Khan removed the main check on their growing power, and the Sikhs soon spread themselves over the country. They further extended and developed the Rakhi System and became undisputed masters of a great portion of the Punjab ; on the territories which had hitherto served as their Rakhi grounds, they set themselves up as territorial chieftains.[1]

In the Jullundur Doab the Sikhs were opposed by Bishambar Das, the Diwan of Adina Beg Khan. He collected an army of 25,000 strong and gave the Sikhs a battle at Urmur Tanda. The raw levies of the Diwan were soon put to flight and he was himself killed in the action. His entire camp, with all its rich paraphernalia fell into the hands of the Sikhs.[2]

The noted local chiefs of some weight and importance both Hindus and Muslims either submitted to the Sikhs on a definite promise to pay them a portion of their revenues, or were swept out of existence, after some resistance on their part. The Sikhs, however, did not create a fuss while acquiring these territories. This being their first venture of this nature, they moved very cautiously. They offered generous treatment to the people whom they had brought under their subjection and treated their powerful neighbours with regard and consideration.[3]

Most of the followers of a particular Sardar considered themselves not as his subordinates but as his associates and partners, often his kinsmen, in each

[1]Buti Shah, 264b.

[2]Bakhtmal, 91 ; Sohan Lal, i. 149.

[3]Buti Shah, 242b-243a ; Ratan Singh, 489-92 ; Gyan Singh, 750-51.

enterprize undertaken, and thus regarded the lands now acquired as the common property of all in which each claimed his individual share according to his quota of contribution. These associations, therefore, came to be called "Misls," implying thereby that each group was a confederacy of equals under a chief of their own selection. A kind of feudal system was thus established. "The leaders of the confederacies had under them minor chiefs, and those again their subordinates, till the common soldiers were reached. The country conquered by the confederacy was parcelled out among the chiefs for the support of themselves and their armed retainers, principally troopers. The greater chiefs divided their lands among their subordinate chiefs and these again assigned villages to their dependents for their support. Various tenures springing from the system were known as Pattidari, Misldari, Tabadari and Jagirdari. Although each confederacy was independent of one another, yet all of them were looked upon as forming one commonwealth.[1]

This step greatly enhanced their prestige and increased their power. No sooner was it found how profitable was the profession of an outlaw, than every Jat Sikh village of the Manjha sent forth its contingent of hardy youngmen to set themselves up as landed proprietors and to pay off old scores to their oppressors. Thus there arose a new, self-formed aristocracy who were destined to play the role of rulers in the Punjab for about half a century. The possessions of the Sikh chiefs at this time comprised of the major portion of the Jullundur Doab and the northern parts of the Bari Doab, the full details of which are given in Appendix I.

[1]Jullundur District Settlement Report, 1892, pp. 29-30.

CHAPTER VII.

PEACEFUL PROGRESS OF MALWA SIKHS UNDER ALHA SINGH, 1739—1761.

1. ORIGIN OF THE MALWA CHIEFS.

It is interesting to note that the Sikhs of Malwa pursued a different line of action from that of their co-religionists of the Manjha. They always adopted a diplomatic tone, never defying the Government of the day openly, but increased their power in such a manner as not to arouse the suspicion of the Imperial Government at Delhi.

The ancestors of the Malwa chiefs, as those of the Manjha Sikhs, were simple Hindu peasants. As the central authority of tbe Mughal Government grew weak, the power of these peaceful Jats increased. In course of time they developed their social importance and from mere cultivators of the lands rose to be the owners of those same lands. They acquired further grants of land, founded villages and became wealthy. With the beginning of the 17th century these chiefs abandoned Hinduism and became converts to the Sikh religion. In the years of anarchy that followed in the early part of the 18th century, these Sikhs daily gained power and territory.

2. PROGRESS UNDER ALHA SINGH.

Thus arose the great Cis-Sutlej Sardars whose acknowledged head was the Phulkian house of which Alha Singh was the representative, with the closely allied families of Bhadaur, Nabha, Jind, Malod, Badraka, Jiundan, Diyalpura, Laudgharia, Rampur and Kot Dhuna, and the more distantly connected house of Faridkot. These numorous branches of a vigorous stock have all descended from a

common ancestor of the great Siddhu Brar tribe, the most powerful Jat clan between the Jumna and the Sutlej. Alha Singh, the foundor of the Patiala house, succeeded his father Rama in 1714 in the overlordship of a few villages, the number of which in 1723 was only thirty.[1] He entered upon his career of extending his territory partly by establishing new towns and partly by conquering other places in his neighbourhood. He rebuilt Barnala in 1722 and Longowal in 1727. Shortly afterwards he desolated Mina, the possession of Sondhe Khan Rajput, who was related to the powerful Rai Kalha of Kot. The Rai, thereupon organized a confederacy to destroy the growing power of Alha Singh, and collecting a strong force of of Rajput chiefs, consisting of the sons of Fatah Khan of Talwandi, Dalel Khan of Halwara, Qutb-ud-din of Malsian, chief of Fatahpur, Naurang Khan of Talwal, Malak Nakodar of Nakodar, Jamal Khan of Malerkotla and Sayyid Asad Ail Khan, the imperial faujdar of the Jullundur Doab, attacked Alha Singh at Barnala. Alha Singh, however, was not unaware of the intention and movements of his enemy. He realized that he was not able to cope single-handed with the serious situation in case of a combined attack and had, therefore, brought the Manjha Sikhs to his help at Barnala. In the contest that followed the imperial general was killed and the troops of Malerkotla and Kot evacuated the field, thus leaving a complete victory to the Sikhs.[2]

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[1]Karam Singh, 87.

[2]Karam Singh, 95-103. This was for the first time that the acquaintance between the Manjha Sikhs and Alha Singh was formed. Alha Singh, out of gratitude for the Sikh help, took pahal from Dip Singh, the leader of the Manjha Sikhs, and became a regular Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh. Ibid, 103.

This victory established Alha Singh's position as an independent chief, and daring Sikh youths from all parts of the country began to flock to his standard. The next fourteen years were spent in desultory warfare with the neighbouring Bhatti Rajputs. In 1745 Alha Singh allied himself with Ali Muhammad Rohila, the Governor of Sirhind, in destroying the power of the Rai of Kot; but in turn he was also imprisoned in the fort of Sunam and his capital Barnala given over to plunder, while his family fled away to Bhatinda. He might have perished in prison but for the self-sacrifice of a follower named Karma who secured his release by a stratagem in 1747.[1]

3. ALHA SINGH'S HELP TO THE IMPERIALISTS.

Just at this time Abdali invaded India. Ali Muhammad sought relief in flight to Aonla, to avoid fighting with his Afghan brother. The imperial army under Prince Ahmad Shah lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Alha Singh for a couple of months. Alha Singh lost no time in offering submission and in paying homage to the imperial authority. He readily fought under the imperial banners and rendered useful service in cutting off the supplies of the Durranis, for which he won the approbation of the Crown Prince.[2]

[1]Karam Singh, 94, 126-32.

[2]Anandram of Lahore who was present in the battle of Manupur observes:—

"When the enemy (Afghans) went out to bring a supply of grain and grass, they never returned safe on account of the assault of the champions of the Imperialist army. Sometimes a part of their troops went a few miles away from their camp with horses and camels in order to fetch a supply of provisions and fodder and were followed by another contingent for protection. Very often, with

4. EXTENSION OF ALHA SINGH'S TERRITORIES.

The next ten years were consumed in extending his possessions and in fighting the Bhattis. He took Munak in 1749 and fortified it next year. He also established his thana at Tohana, while Gurbakhsh Singh Kaleka took Sanaur parganah, consisting of 84 villages, in 1752. The place was fortified for holding the neighbouring territory in check. In 1754 Alha Singh conquered Bulada with the assistance of 12,000 of the Dal Khalsa who happened to be at this time in his territory. The same year he defeated Muhammad Amin Khan Bhatti in the battle of Khudal.

In 1757 Ahmad Shah Abdali appointed Abdul Samad Khan as Governor of Sirhind, and following the traditional custom Alha Singh presented himself before him to render submission. Abdul Samad Khan was so much impressed with the Sikh Chief that he took him into his confidence regarding all important State matters. Muhammad Amin Khan Bhatti could not tolerate the growing power of Alha Singh, and so he managed to turn Abdul Samad against him. As a consequence, an action took place between the two chiefs at Rampur, in which the Governor of Sirhind was defeated and the parganahs of Jamalpur and Dharmul, consisting of 84 villages were seized by Alha Singh.[1]

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the assistance of fortune, Alha, zamindar of some villages of Sirhind, and Rai Kalha, zamindar of the Doab, fell upon them with great valour and pluck, killed and wounded most of them and brought string after string of camels and were consequently honoured with the grant of khila'ts horses and cash." (Cf. Husain Shahi, 26; Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 7; Tarikh-i-Ali, 126; Jullundur Gazetteer, 1904, p. 29).

[1] Karam Singh, 180-82.

5. ALHA AIDS THE DELHI EMPEROR.

On the 22nd September 1758 Emperor Alamgir II of Delhi and his Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk reached Hansi, halted there for some days, collected tribute from the district and then advanced towards Bhuna. The Baluch zamindar of the place named Musa Khan fought against the imperialists who besieged him. The Emperor, however, had a fainting fit and the siege was therefore raised, after a tribute had been agreed upon. In their march to Sarsa and Rania the progress of the imperial army was checked by several impediments such as the dense jungle, the river Ghaggar and scarcity of water and food. To add to these misfortunes, they were very much harassed by the constant attacks of the Bhattis. The result was that the imperialists suffered badly.[1] At this juncture Alha Singh came to the succour of the Emperor, saw the Wazir personally and supplied him with ample provisions of food and fodder.[2]

6. CHANGE OF PATIALA RAJAH'S POLICY.

Till 1758 Alha Singh had not touched any imperial fort and had always submitted to the imperial officers whenever they happened to pass through or near his territory. But by the end of this year finding his co-religionists of the Manjha busy in speedy appropriation of territories, he also did not like to lose the opportunity, and taking advantage of the utter futility of the Delhi Empire, he began to extend his possessions at the expense of the imperial domain. The conquest of Sunam was the first venture of this kind.

[1]Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 351.

[2]Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani, 351-52.

In 1759 Alha Singh extended his territory towards Bagar and annexed Narwana, Kalwan, Dhamtan, Dharaundi, Belrakha, Kharal, Lawan, Pipalbeh, Danaudi, and Bathumana.

The same year he came into conflict with Sadiq Beg the Governor of Sirhind, whose Diwan Lachmi Narayan sought the assistance of Alha Singh against his master. The Sikh chief, confident of his resources, afforded him refuge. By this action he provoked the wrath of the Sirhind Governor who invaded his territory. Alha Singh gave him many slips and ultimately engaged him in skirmishes. In November Ahmad Shah again invaded India and when he approached Sirhind, Sadiq Beg suddenly raised the siege and fled away headlong out of the reach of the Afghan invader.[1]

7. Alha Singh helps the Marathas at Panipat.

During the campaign of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali had succeeded in isolating the Marathas on all sides, and thus provisions were running short in their camp. Alha Singh, however, cleverly managed to send convoys of grain to the Marathas in return for large sums of money. This was brought to the notice of the Durrani, who at once despatched a detachment to cow down the chief effectually. At the time of the approach of the Durrani troops Alha Singh was away from his seat of government to Munak and the capital was under the charge of his Rani Fatto, a woman of remarkable address and diplomacy.

[1] Karam Singh, 188-198.

The Rani at once despatched four officers, Bhola Singh, Kashmiri Mal, Kanha Mal and Biram Dhilon to the Durrani camp at Panipat to settle the terms of peace. She herself retired wfth her grandson Amar Singh to Munak. But before these agents reached the Durrani camp, the Afghan troops gave over Barnala to plunder and retired on receiving a tribute of four lakhs of rupees.[1]

8. ALHA SINGH RECEIVES A RESCRIPT FROM THE DURRANI, 29TH MARCH, 1761.

After the battle of Panipat Ahmad Shah started for home, leaving his plenipotentiary Najib-ud-daulah as dictator in Delhi. When he reached Sirhind, Alha Singh presented himself before the Durrani, offered him costly gifts and promised to pay him an annual tribute of 5 lakhs. He was warmly received and and was awarded a robe of honour. Simultaneously, at the desire of Alha Singh, an order was issued to the Governor of Sirhind on the 29th March 1761 under the seal and signature of Abdali's Wazir, Shah Vali Khan, to the purpose that he should consider the possessions of Alha Singh separate from the territory under his jurisdiction and look upon his friends as his own friends and his enemies as his own enemies, and that anybody who would cherish feelings of enmity towards Alha Singh would be considered hostile to the Kabul kingdom. To void any conflict with the chief of Sirhind, Mirza Muhmmad Taqi was appointed to realize tribute from this Sikh chief.

[1]Khazana-i-Amira, 107; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 113a; Tarikh-i-Patiala, 55-57.

On the retirement of the Abdali from India, the Dal Khalsa felt enraged at the conduct of Alha Singh in having submitted to a Muslim against the commandments of the tenth Guru. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, who was a friend of the Malwa chief, imposed a fine on Alha Singh and thus pacified the Dal.[1]

[1]Karam Singh, 209-11; Tarikh-i-Patiala, 55-57; Cf. S. P. D. xxi, 202. This document shows that at that time Alha Singh's estate consisted only of 726 towns and villages. Karam Singh, 212-13.

CHAPTER VIII.

SIKHS TAKE LAHORE AND COIN MONEY.

1. The Durrani-Maratha Struggle, October 1759—January 1761.

We are not here concerned with the details of the Durrani-Maratha struggle, as it is a matter of general Indian history. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to giving only an idea of the Durrani's inability to attend to the Punjab affairs for a year and a half whilst he stayed in India, thus allowing the Sikhs a free stage and no favour. We are also concerned with this battle as it annihilated the ambitious hopes of the Marathas of keeping the Punjab under them.[1]

The expulsion of his son Timur Shah from the Punjab had enraged Ahmad Shah Durrani to the utmost and he was resolved to settle the Maratha menace once for all.[2] He made huge preparations at home while Naiib-ud-Daulah, his best ally, facilitated his work in India.

With his enormous hordes[3] the Durrani started for India early in the autumn of 1759 and arrived at Lahore in October. At the approach of these overwhelming forces, the Marathas fled from the Punjab without even

[1]For the most detailed and best account, see Sarkar, ii. pp. 199-372.

[2]Nur-ud-din, 27a.

[3]55,000 according to a Marathi letter dated 1-11-1759 (Rajwade, i, 139) and 60,000 as in Imad-us-Sa'adat, 116a and in S.P.D. xxvii. 246.

striking a blow. He left Jarchi Karim Dad Khan, nephew of his prime minister Shah Vali Khan, in charge of Lahore with instructions to send him supplies of grain, arms and ammunition. Raja Ghamand Chand of Kangra was appointed Governor of the Jullundur Doab as well as the hill country between the Sutlej and the Ravi.[1]

Ahmad Shah reached Sirhind on the 27th November, Ambala on the 20th December, and Taraori on the 24th, where an engagement with a Maratha contingent took place in which the Marathas were defeated with 400 slain. Ahmad Shah, then crossed the Jumna and Najib joined him at Saharanpur. On arriving near Delhi the Durrani was further strengthened by the combination of all other Rohila chiefs. These troops again crossed over the Jumna near Delhi at Barari Ghat on the 9th January 1760, where they routed another Maratha force under Dattaji Sindhia, who was slain in the battle. The Abdali troops maintained the pursuit of the Marathas and succeeded in routing another contingent under the ablest Maratha cavalry leader, Malhar, at Sikandarabad on the 4th March. Abdali then encamped in the Koil parganah (modern Aligarh) in order to wait for the Maratha forces coming from the Deccan. Here Ahmad Shah also succeeded in winning over Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh to his side who joined him at the head of 30,000 horse and 10,000 foot.

The Poona Court on being apprised of these events prepared for a great effort to maintain their supremacy in Northern India. In May began the northward march of the huge Maratha forces under the leadership of Sadashiv Bhau. The Bhau, a young man of 30, had

[1] Ali-ud-din, 119b-120a; Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, Punjab, i. 357.

already won a name for himself in war strategy and statesmanship. But he had to face many difficulties from the outset. He had to combat against a formidable coalition of the Muslim powers in which all the Indian Muslim and Afghan chiefs had joined Ahmad Shah Abdali for the extirpation of the Marathas. The Bhau on the other hand did not try to rally all the Hindus under his banner. Not a single Rajput Raja joined him, while the Sikh support was never invited.[1] Even Surajmal, the wisest and shrewdest diplomat of the time, withdrew from his side. Besides, the Hindu landlords of the Gangetic Doab rose against the Marathas. The Bhau was further handicapped in carrying on a war far away from his home in the midst of a hostile population who looked upon the Marathas as enemy. The Marathas were also encumbered by the the large train of baggage, heavy artillery and the families of chiefs and soldiers. Lack of boats in crossing the rivers was a further impediment. A still greater disadvantage lay in the Bhau's perfect ignorance of the essential details of this campaign, as he had to starton this expedition almost at a day's notice. Moreover, he had never been in Northern India and knew nothing about the country and the people. Not only this much, but the proud Bhau, a young man of hot blood, besides entirely disregarding the advice of his experienced chiefs, insulted them publicly.[2]

[1]A letter dated 27-11-1760, in S. P. D. xxi. 197, says that the Bhau, after the capture of Kunjpura, had a mind to win the Sikhs over to his side ; but his plans were frustrated by the sudden news of Abdali's having crossed over the Jumna at Baghpat.

[2]"Malhar's angry remark that if these proud Brahmans of Puna were not humbled by the enemy they would make him and other captains of the Maratha caste wash their soiled clothes, is historically true." (Sarkar, ii. 257).

The Bhau crossed the Chambal by the end of May and a little later he reached the Jumna which was in flood on account of early rains. He ardently desired to cross the river and fall upon the Abdali when the burning sun of the hottest month in India was oppressing the dwellers of the mountains. But the scarcity of boats prevented the Bhau from this undertaking. Having wasted one month in vainly searching for a ford, the Bhau marched towards Delhi. The city fell on the 22nd July and the fort, then under the command of a Durrani officer, capitulated on the 2nd August. This success turned the Bhau's head and he rejected all peace proposals from the enemy by offering terms quite impossible to be accepted. The capture of Delhi, however, proved fruitless. No food, no fodder and no money were procurable. The soldiers lived on a scanty supply of rice and the chiefs on gram. The Bhau made piteous appeals to the Peshwa for help, but all was in vain, He then marched northward and on the 17th October seized Kunjpura where he acquired large stores of provisions and immense booty.

The Bhau had committed the greatest blunder in not adequately guarding the fords of the Jumna. The Abdali, who was burning with rage at the Maratha capture of Delhi and Kunjpura, crossed the Jumna at Baghpat on October 23 and 24 and encamped at Panipat, and the Bhau also hurried to Panipat and encamped close to the town.

It appears that on the whole the contending armies were nearly equal in number. The Marathas were superior in heavy artillery and the allied Muslims in infantry camel-swivels and generalship. The rival armies lay encamped close to each other for about three months during which several skirmishes and partial actions were

fought. Each tried to cut off the supplies of the other, but eventually the Durrani succeeded in isolating the Marathas. Want began to be felt in the Bhau's lines so intensely and the distress from this trouble increased to such a degree as to force the Bhau to risk the final action of the campaign, which took place on the 14th January 1761. In it the Marathas were defeated and most of them were massacred.

2. Consequences of the Battle.

The Maratha losses sustained on the historic field of Panipat both politically and morally were far reaching and serious, but they did not prove crushing. The younger generation tried, and to some extent succeeded, in making them up, and within ten years of their defeat they recovered sufficiently to make headway at Delhi where they succeeded in placing their own nominee on the imperial throne.

The victorious Afghans, on the other hand, gained nothing. The Durrani soldiers after the battle of Panipat, mutinied to go home. Ahmad Shah was also worn out after his long and harassing campaign of a year and a half. Moreover, he was losing his confidence in his Indian allies. Consequently he left India in March 1761 and retired to Afghanistan.

In another sense the consequences of this battle were of the first magnitude. The constant struggle for supremacy between the rising Marathas and the declining Mughals was very keen about the middle of the 18th century. It reacted on the strength and resources of both the parties, and thus made way for the other two Powers who were silently making rapid strides in gaining strength

in the extreme east and west. Only four years after this battle Clive was in a position to secure the Diwani of Bengal and as a consequence the British practically became masters of this province; while the Sikhs, about the same time, seized almost the whole of the Punjab. Ten years after Panipat when the Marathas came back to Delhi, they found the Sikhs too securely established in the Land of the Five Rivers to be ousted by them.

The Sikhs, on the other hand, finding the Punjab relieved of the Marathas, had to contend only with the Durranis, in whom the lust of war had degenerated into brute ferocity. The Sikhs, roused by their national feelings, easily succeeded in repelling them, with the result that the tide which had been running its course so prosperously for so long, now rolled back with the same rapidity, not to be repeated again but once or twice.

3. The Appearance of Numerous Sikh Forts in the Punjab.

Jarchi Karim Dad Khan stayed in Lahore for about four months (November 1759-March 1760), and on account of his energetic nature and with the terror of Abdali's name he succeeded in maintaining a semblance of peace and order in the country. The Sikhs lay dispersed here and there, carrying on their depredations unmolested in out-of-the-way places.

In March 1760 Ahmad Shah Abdali recalled his able chiefs Jarchi Karim Dad and Zain Khan to himself and appointed Sarbuland Khan in charge of the Punjab. This choice was rather unhappy as Sarbuland Khan was lacking in courage and initiative. Terrified by the

Sikhs, he lingered on the way and ultimately stayed at Jullundur 70 miles away from Lahore, and made this place his own headquarters. He nominated Sa'adat Yar Khan, an equally inefficient officer, in charge of the provincial capital, while Rustam Khan administered the Chahar Mahal and Samad Khan controlled the government of the Sirhind province.[1]

Ahmad Shah was in India, but he bothered himself little with the outbreaks of disorder that prevailed in its internal administration ; particularly on this occasion when he had a more serious problem to tackle. His officials in the Punjab were little better than military commandants who concerned themselves only about collecting revenues and levying contributions for the support of their own civil and military administration and in aid of the general resources of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

The Sikhs were naturally happy at the imperfect hold of the Afghans over the Punjab and at the weakness of their military resources. The Sikh leaders, therefore, hailed this opportunity and began to throw up mud forts and fortalices all over the province. In most cases they were built in the centres of rich tracts of land and along the main routes, particularly in the midst of a Sikh population to whom in emergency they could serve as a

[1] Delhi Chronicle, p. 172, dated 23rd March 1760. ("Jiwan Khan alias Buland Khan came from the Shah (Aligarh) and entered the Haveli (at Delhi). People said that he was appointed subahdar of Lahore and was accompanied by Samad Khan faujdar of Sirhind"). Cf. also Ali-ud-din, 120b-121a; Shamshir Khalsa, 104; Sohan Lal, i. 149. Miskin, 215, 224.

rallying point. They also served to overawe the hostile communities of the neighbourhood.[1]

4. Rustam Khan and Miskin captured by the Sikhs, c. October, 1760.

The ruthlessness with which the Sikhs plundered several districts in the province and the disorder which they created are clearly reflected in the pages of the contemporary Miskin, who himself fell a victim to one of their raids in a village near the town of Sialkot. Rustam Khan, governor of Chahar Mahal, and his assistant Miskin went to punish the Sikhs, but they were captured by them and detained till the payment of a ransom. [Miskin, 218-221].

5. The Sikhs attack Lahore, but spare it for a tribute of Rs. 30,000, c. November 1760.

Sa'adat Yar Khan held the charge of Lahore for a few months; but every day he felt the reins of government slipping away from his hold. The Sikhs had become entirely uncontrollable and the other zamindars had either joined them or submitted to them; the Government was entirely helpless and powerless. Thus the Afghan administration again broke down in the Punjab.

Even Sa'adat Yar's resignation could not move the indolent Sarbuland Khan from Jullundur to take over the charge of the province in person. He now thought of trying a non-Muslim; and offered the post to Surat Singh, a noted banker of Lahore. This man understood the situation

[1] For some details of these forts, Cf. Ahmad Shah, 889; Ali-ud-din, 122b; Hugel, 269; Punjab Chiefs, 305, 322, 386, 399, 426, 427, 431 & 441.

well and politely declined to entangle himself in a conflict with the Sikhs. He was again pressed to carry on the government for some time till a suitable candidate for the post could be found. He did so, and then Mir Muhammad Khan was given the charge of the administration. No sooner was he appointed Governor than he was called upon to face a huge assemblage of the Sikhs, who had gathered together at Amritsar to celebrate the Diwali early in November 1760, when they passed a Gurumata to attack Lahore.

The Sikhs, numbering about 10,000, fell on the city. Mir Muhammad shut the gates and himself retired to the fort for safety. The Sikhs cut off all means of communication with the city, plundered the suburbs and destroyed the growing crops of wheat, gram and mustard. They also stripped the houses of their timber wood and set them on fire afterwards. Then they tried to break through the city walls. This caused a panic in the city, and the prominent citizens persuaded the Governor to pay the Sikhs Rs. 30,000 by way of an offering of '*Karah parshad*' to their Granth, out of the revenues of Ahmad Shah Durrani. This was done and the Sikhs eventually retired.[1]

6. The Sikhs harass the retreating Durrani, April—May 1761.

The molestation of the Durrani by the Sikhs began from the Sutlej, when he crossed it on his return early in April. Being loaded with the rich booty of Delhi and the Doab, he could not turn his attention towards them and saved himself by throwing up "a

[1] Ali-ud-din, 120a-121b; Cf. Sohan Lal, i. 150; Shamshir Khalsa, 104-105; Kanhaya Lal's Tarikh-i-Punjab. 83.

slight work," round his camp every night. At the ferry of Goindwal on the Beas the Sikhs are said to have relieved the invader of a number of captives, who were afterwards sent to their homes.[1]

From Lahore Ahmad Shah sent out a few expeditions against the Sikhs, but their activities did not abate. Some of the Sikhs who were captured, were put to death with a thousand and one tortures, but the Khalsa looked upon such deaths as nothing more than the trampling down of a few ants.[2]

7. Administrative arrangements made by the Durrani, May 1761.

Before leaving the Punjab, Ahmad Shah Durrani appointed Sarbuland Khan to the subahdari of Multan, Khwajah Abed to that of Lahore, while Raja Ghamand Chand Katoch of Kangra was entrusted with the government of the Jullundur Doab, with Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi, the Durrani faujdars as his deputies, and Zain Khan Mohmand was given charge of the Sirhind Province.[3] All of them were given clear instructions to punish the Sikhs, and it seems probable that with this view, the Abdali selected two local men as governors of

[1] Browne, ii. 22. Gyan Singh, 759-60; Shamshir Khalsa, 105; Sikh Martyrs, 184.

[2] Ganesh Das, 199. Cf. Ratan Singh, 430; Gyan Singh, 738-42; Shamshir Khalsa 98.

[3] "To defend his possessions Gomand Chand raised a force of 4,000 men, composed chiefly of Rohillas, Afghans and Rajputs, drawn from the Delhi and Afghan forces, to whom he gave liberal pay, or five rupees a month for each footman, and twenty for each horseman". Travels of Moorcroft and Trebeck, i. 127. Khushwaqt Rai, 94.

the Lahore Province and the Julludur Doab, both of these territories being strongholds of Sikhism.

The roving bands of the Sikhs did not allow any rest to the retreating Afghan army till the Indus was crossed. They "hovered about the Afghan line of march, cutting off the supplies and doing what damage they could but never making a direct attack."[1]

8. SIKHS SPREAD HAVOC ALL OVER THE PUNJAB, *c.* JUNE–JULY 1761.

Having left the Durrani on the Indus, the Sikhs, numbering 40,000, came to this side of the Chenab and plundered the country all around. Nawab Khwajah Mirza Khan, ex-governor of Lahore, then in charge of the Chahar Mahal, met the Sikhs at the head of 1,000 horse and foot, but his troops were instantly annihilated and he was beheaded.[2]

Flushed with this victory they marched onward and entered the Jullundur Doab. Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi, the faujdars of the place, were defeated and driven away. Now Sirhind lay in sight, and under the impulse of uniform success they did not like to spare it. Consequently they concerted a plan of action and marched towards Sirhind. Zain Khan was at this time out on an administrative tour, but on hearing of the approach of the Sikhs he hurried back at once towards the seat of his government. The Sikhs on getting this news suddenly fell upon the town under the leadership of Jassa Singh

[1] Rajas of the Punjab, 230; Cf. Forster, i. 318; Bakhtmal, 96-97; Sohan Lal, i. 153; Browne, ii. 22.

[2] Miskin, 237.

Ahluwalia, defeated Zain Khan's deputy and began to devastate the accursed city against which their wrath knew no bounds. They succeeded in plundering only a portion of the place, because inside the city they were actively opposed by Bhikhan Khan, the ruler of Malerkotla. By this time Zain Khan also had arrived and the Sikhs instantaneously fled away from the city.[1]

The Sikhs resented the action of the Afghan chief Bhikhan Khan, who had stood between them and the loot of Sirhind. They decided to punish him and suddenly turned towards Malerkotla, which lay unprotected at this time. The town was 30 miles away. They covered the distance in one day and took the people of thc place by surprise. The town was immediately besieged and its supplies were entirely cut off. The suburbs were burnt to ashes and the outskirts thoroughly plundered. The fort soon capitulated and the town was given a thorough squeezing.[2]

After the discomfiture of these chiefs, the life and property of the people became quite unsafe. The roads in the plains of the Punjab ceased to exist, and the traveller and trader resorted to the difficult and troublesome but safer hill-route running through the low hills of the Siwalik range.[3]

1 Browne, ii. 23. Bakhtmal, 97; Ahmad Shah, 893; Shamshir Khalsa, 110.

2 Bakhtmal, 97; Shamshir Khalsa, 110; Browne, ii. 23.

3 Miskin travelling from Jammu to Sirhind could not venture to follow the easier plain route which was closed by the Sikh disturbances. He consequently journeyed through the hills via Shahpur, Nurpur, Jawalamukhi, Nadaun etc. and took sixteen days in reaching Sirhind. (Miskin, 237-38).

Twenty-two years later Forster also followed the same route.

9. ABDALI'S GENERAL NUR-UD-DIN IS DEFEATED BY THE SIKHS, *c.* AUGUST 1761.

Ahmad Shah Abdali had neither forgotten nor forgiven the Sikhs for harassing him during his retreat through the Punjab on his return from Delhi. But he had then been too much hampered by the rebellious attitude of his troops and military impediments to organize any sustained effort for the suppression of their guerilla attacks. He had therefore secured his retreat as best he could, chafing at his inability to turn aside and exact retribution.[1]

With a view to facilitating his return he had abandoned much of his heavy baggage including the monster gun called Zamzama,[2] capable of throwing a shot of one maund (82 lbs) in weight and which was looked upon as a marvel. On arriving within the safe confines of Afghanistan he planned and fitted out an expedition against the Sikhs under the care of one of his trusted generals Nur-ud-din Khan. Instructions were despatched at the same time to his Punjab Governors to co-operate with him.

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[1] Sohan Lal, ii. 6.

[2] In his contest with the Marathas at Panipat (October 1760—January 1761) the strength of the Durrani with regard to the possession of a park of artillery was inferior. Consequently he had ordered his representatives in the Punjab to cast guns of a good calibre and send them on to him in the battle-field. Accordingly two guns of the same size were cast at Lahore in conformity with the instructions of Shah Vali Khan. Their material consisted of a mixture of copper and brass, obtained from a heap of vessels which were collected from Hindu houses. The date of casting the Zamzama (1174 A.H.) is derived from a Persian line engraved upon it. (Paikar-i-Azhdaha-i-Atish-bar).

Nur-ud-din entered India (*c.* early August) and crossing the Jhelum at Khushab, marched up the left bank of the river. His troops committed all kinds of violence and depredation and laid waste the three largest towns of the Doab.[1]

As soon as Nur-ud-din arrived on the banks of the Chenab, he came into conflict with Sardar Charat Singh of the Sukarchakia Misl. Charat Singh, anticipating the trouble, had already moved from his head-quarters at Gujranwala to arrest the further progress of the Afghan general. He was assisted by the other Misldars who had made a common cause with him. Thus assuming the defensive with his army of trained men, Charat Singh awaited the onslaught of the Afghans whom after a battle of considerable duration he repulsed. He followed up his victory by maintaining a vigorous pursuit of the fugitives.[2]

The Afghans, about 12,000 in number, fleeing pell-mell, took refuge in the stronghold of Sialkot. The town was immediately besieged and the strictness of the watch was such that supplies gave out and the garrison was brought to the verge of starvation. Nur-ud-din, finding his men demoralized and starving, abandoned them to their fate and disguised as a beggar sought refuge in flight. The garrison immediately surrendered, and were allowed to depart in peace.

This victory over the well-trained troops of the

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[1] Sohan Lal, ii. 6. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Punjab, ii. 127. 'Bhera and Miani rose again from their ruins, but only the foundations of Chak Sanu now mark its former site." Ibid, 128).

[2] Sohan Lal, ii. 6.

greatest soldier of the day placed Charat Singh in the front rank of the Sikh leaders, while the booty of Sialkot brought him a quantity of artillery and baggage. When all was over Charat Singh made a triumphal entry into his capital at Gujranwala.[1]

10. KHWAJAH ABED DEFEATED AND ROUTED BY THE SIKHS AT GUJRANWALA, c. SEPTEMBER 1761.

The recent victories of the Sikhs emboldened them to infest the very neighbourhood of Lahore. "Their violence increased so much that the collection of the revenues stopped at every place. Khwajah Abed Khan in view of these difficulties recruited an army 9 to 10 thousand horse and foot. He also enlisted 4 or 5 hundred Sikhs under Sahib Singh Korbast. Then he wished to punish Bhim Singh and Sarup Singh of village Manka who carried on their predatory excursions mostly in the neighbourhood of Lahore. Afterwards he wanted to turn his attention towards Sardar Charat Singh of Gujranwala who had built a fortress near Sarai Kamboh, wherefrom he started on his plundering raids."[2]

The Khwajah was advised hy his courtiers and friends not to undertake such a vain expedition. But this inexperienced fellow insisted on sallying forth.

In order to strengthen his position he enrolled 1,000 Sikhs from the Jullundur Doab in addition to the number already retained in his service. He took ten or twelve pieces of cannon, marched from Lahore, collected the

[1] Sohan Lal, ii. 7; Buti Shah, 308b.

[2] This fortress of Gujranwala was built in 1758 A. D. Khushwaqt Rai, 188. Ali-ud-din, 122b-123a.

revenues of Sharaqpur and other places and arrived near Gujranwala.[1]

Charat Singh was ready to meet the foe. He had gathered a large army and strongly garrisoned his fort. Khwajah Abed had first entrenched himself at Eminabad, but later on took up a fortified position before Gujranwala. Charat Singh, leaving a strong garrison behind him, at once assumed the aggressive, and an affair of outposts ensued, in which the reckless valour of the Sikhs drove the enemy within their entrenchments.[2]

In the meanwhile the news of the siege of the fort of Gujranwala had spread far and wide. The Sikh leaders Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Hari Singh Bhangi, Jhanda Singh, Gujar Singh, Jai Singh Kanhaya, Lahna Singh and Sobha Singh began to muster strong for the relief of Charat Singh, came to Gujranwala, and encamped four miles distant.

Khwajah Abed was thus besieged in turn. Even the Sikhs whom he had recently recruited for the occasion, were won over by their co-religionists and decided to desert the Khwajah. A combined night attack on the Khwajah's troops was proposed by the Sikhs. This news leaked out to Abed Khan, who was so much terrified that he took to flight after nightfall without striking a blow. The Sikhs were not unaware of the Governor's movement. They suddenly fell upon his troops, who fled away in all directions leaving everything in the field. The booty obtained by the victors was considerable, consisting of

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[1] Ahmad Shah, 890. His total strength is estimated at 20,000 by Khushwaqt Rai, 188. Miskin 237. Ali-ud-din, 123a.

[2] Sohan Lal, ii. 7.

swivels, pieces of cannon, horses, camels, stores of provisions, vessels and other camp baggage.[1]

Khwajah Abed Khan with a few attendants fled in the night to Jaukalian. Then accompanied by 500 horse and foot of Chaudhari Mian Khan Chattha and Ismail Khan Kharal, he reached Sharaqpur, wherefrom he was conveyed to Lahore attended by Jamal Arain and other zamindars of the place.

This splendid victory added a new lustre to the glory of Charat Singh, who having now leisure and means set to work to rebuild and fortify the place. On the walls of his fort he also mounted a number of guns and stored the magazine with plenty of ammunition.[2]

11. The Sikhs capture the Capital and coin money, c. November 1761.

The continuous round of rapid victories achieved by the Sikhs within a short space of about four months after the departure of Ahmad Shah laid practically the whole of the Punjab at their feet. They therefore, performed a thanksgiving service at Amritsar on the occasion of the Diwali festival, which fell on October 22, 1761. There they held a general assembly and passed a Gurumata[3] that they must punish their inveterate enemy Guru Aqil Das of Jandiala and capture Lahore, without the possession of which they could not look upon themselves as the supreme power in the Land of the five rivers.

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[1] Khushwaqt Rai, 94-104 ; Ahmad 890-891. Sohan Lal, ii. 8 Ali-ud-din, 123a ; Bakhtmal, 82 ; Miskin, 237.

[2] Sohan Lal, ii 8 ; Buti Shah, 308b.

[3] Miskin, 237. Khushwaqt Rai, 94. Ali-ud-din, 123b.

Consequently, the Dal Khalsa, under their chief leader marched upon Lahore in a body, laid siege to the city and cut off all communications, allowing nobody to come in or go out of the town. Khwajah Abed shut himself up in the fort and did not stir out to oppose them. The noted citizens, knowing the weakness of the Governor, opened negotiations with Jassa Singh and threw open the gates of the city, thus saving the town from the horrors of a sack. Now there were two rulers in one place, the Sikhs in the city and Khwajah Abed in the fort. But the Governor seems to have met with death shortly afterwards, as we are given to understand by the contemporary author of Khazana-i-Amira. In a fit of enthusiasm and delight the Sikhs fulfilled the wishes of their revered leader, the late Nawab Kapur Singh, by declaring Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as Padishah. Then seizing the royal mint, they struck the first Sikh rupee which bore the following inscription :—

(Coined by the grace of God in the country of Ahmad captured by Jassa Kalal).[1]

The capture of the provincial capital and the coining of money marked the highest point, though temporarily, in the evolution of the Sikh power. The people of the Punjab now realized that even in case the Khalsa were expelled from Lahore, they were destined to become its masters sooner or later. But as the irony of fate would have it, this greatest glory of the Sikhs was to be followed, only within three months, by the hardest blow they ever sustained after the death of Banda.

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[1] Ahmad Shah, 889, Gyan Singh, 809-10. Khazana-i-Amira, 113-14; Siyar, iii. 74; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 121b-122a; Sohan Lal, 146-47; Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 173.

CHAPTER IX

"GHALLUGHARA" AND AFTER, 1762.

1. The Sikhs besiege Jandiala, c. January 1762.

Having secured their position in Lahore, the Sikhs proceeded to avenge the wrongs done to them by Guru Aqil Das of Jandiala. This Guru, as has already been alluded to, had always sided with the Punjab Governors against the Sikhs, and had made submission to Ahmad Shah Durrani. The intention of the Sikhs to punish him had leaked out to Aqil Das, and anticipating the trouble he secretly despatched special messengers to Ahmad Shah Abdali, reminding the Durrani of his previous personal services and requesting his help against the impending danger. The Abdali had already started for India, and he granted an interview to these envoys at Rohtas. On hearing their tale of woe he quickened his speed and by forced marches reached Lahore in four days' time. Meanwhile the Sikhs had besieged the walled town of Jandiala and laid waste the entire territory of Aqil Das. The Sikhs would have succeeded in capturing the place had not their efforts been foiled, as we are given to understand by the author of *Husain Shahi*, by the suspension of shanks of beef from the fort walls. Overpowered by their religious scruples, the Sikhs raised the siege and retired towards the territory of Zain Khan, the Governor of Sirhind.[1]

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[1] Ali-ud-din, 123b. Husain Shahi, 77. Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 16-17; Tarikh-i-Ali, 145.

2. Ghallughara (Bloody carnage), 5th February, 1762.

On receiving intelligence from Aqil Das, Abdali[1] arrived at Jandiala, but found that the Sikhs had left the place. Determined to go in their pursuit, he returned to Lahore and sent his scouts to bring information of their whereabouts. A couple of days later the news was brought to him that the Sikhs were engaged in fighting with Zain Khan near Malerkotla.

Accordingly Ahmad Shah with a light cavalry force, made one of those rapid marches for which he was so celebrated, covering the distance of about 150 miles and crossing two rivers in the course of less than two days. He arrived near Malerkotla early in the morning of the 5th February 1762,[2] while his couriers had informed Zain Khan about the Shah's arrival in the night of 4-5 February. The Durrani reconnoitred the situation immediately and decided his plan of action. He divided his army into two parts, one under his personal charge and the other under Shah Vali Khan, his Wazir. The division commanded by the Wazir was instructed to join Zain Khan and the two together were to cover one flank of

[1] Such was the terror of Abdali's invasion in India that it sent a thrill of horror in every part of the country. On this occasion Abdali's presence in the Punjab terrified even Qasim Khan, the British protege in Behar, who sought the advice of the governor of Fort William, in this matter. C. P. C. i. 1444.

[2] Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 16. Khazana-i-Amira, 114. Ali-ud-din, 124a. Cf. Rajwade, vi. 465. Miskin, present in the battle, does not give the date of this battle. Forster, i. 319, only mentions the name of the month. I have followed Khazana-i-Amira, which places the Durrani-Sikh engagement on 5th February. Sarkar, ii. 415.

the Sikh force, whereas the Shah himself undertook to turn the second flank. Thus the Sikhs were to be attacked on all sides.

The position of the Sikhs was this. Their whole body, including non-combatants, numbering about 50,000, lay encamped at village Kup; while their baggage train consisting of camp equippage, arms, ammunition. stores of provisions. kitchens, servants, women and children was placed in a small village called 'Pind Garma' only 4 miles distant from their main body. It was, as a rule, guarded by a strong detachment of experienced and veteran soldiers and officers. Slowly in those days did news travel along the rough country roads, and the Sikhs therefore learnt about the Shah's arrival when he had reached Malerkotla. The Sikhs immediately galloped off towards their bahir. With a view to stopping their flight Zain Khan pursued them for half a kos; whereupon the the Sikhs came suddenly to a halt and offered a stubborn resistance. Zain Khan's advance guard under Qasim Khan (our hero of Patti) gave way before the fury of the Sikhs and being repulsed with heavy losses, ran towards Malerkotla. Another captain, Murtaza Khan, however, stood his ground on a small eminence at the head of 500 horse and foot. The sikhs then disappeared from sight to Pind Garma.[1]

Just then the red glare of the rising sun and the crimson-coloured uniforms of the Durranis lit up the sky. The Afghans pursued the Sikhs and fell upon them when they were about to enter the village. The Sikhs were seized with a panic. They looked down upon a pitched

[1] Kup is a railway station on the Ludhiana-Dhuri line, 6 m. n. of Malerkotla. Miskin, 241-42.

action and called it a "half battle"; while "Dhai-Phat" (fleeing and fighting) was considered as the best mode of warring.[1]

Accordingly the Sikhs despatched four Sardars[2] to help and guide the baggage (*bahir*) towards Barnala and organized themselves into a rough sort of solid square, placing each flank under the command of two chiefs. Thus they commenced fighting and moving slowly towards Barnala. They had not gone in this way for more than three kos when they learnt that their *bahir* had fallen a prey to an Afghan contingent 8,000 strong, commanded by Shah Vali Khan. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia immediately despatched a detachment to the rescue of the *bahir*; while their main body continued fighting bravely against the heavy onslaughts of the Durranis. Nothing could surpass the heroic daring, the dogged tenacity, and invincible fortitude of the Sikhs who held themselves with their exposed flanks and open rear. They answered the crushing volleys of the enemy's disciplined fire of jizairs and blunderbusses with their matchlocks and swords. The Sikhs were, however, no match for Abdali in generalship. He advanced a strong detachment under Jahan Khan to lead a fresh attack. This caused a little disorder in the main body of the Sikhs. In confusion they galloped onwards. The veteran Durrani naturally took advantage of the little dislocation of their order and massacred large numbers of them. He then aimed at thrusting himself between the main body of the Sikhs and

[1] Ratan Singh, 380; Gyan Singh, 679; Ahmad Shah, 885.

[2] Sanghu Singh of Jassuwala, Alha Singh of Kotkal, Shekhu Singh of Hambalwal and Buddha Singh. Ratan Singh, 445-447; Gyan Singh, 817; Karam Singh, 220; Phulwari, September 1928, p. 925. Miskin, 242.

their baggage train. He took four contingents of selected soldiers and made a sudden rush into their ranks at that point. Here again a fierce action took place. The Sikh chiefs, particularly Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Charat Singh Sukarchakia, spurred their horses and bounding over prostrate horses and men came to the succour of their brethren who were hard pressed. In answer to the fiercest attack of the Durrani, these Sikh chiefs drew their swords and cut, parried, slashed, thrust, struck, hacked and hewed their enemies and then spurred again to the place where they thought their presence was required. Thus they showed their mettle at the forefront of the battle, with a proud disdain against a horde of foreign plunderers. But ultimately the Durranis were successful and the Sikhs were separated from their *bahir* and the men of the baggage train were mercilessly butchered.[1]

By this time the Sikhs had reached Gahal village, where the surviving men of the *bahir* wanted to take shelter ; but the villagers, from fear of the Durrani, shut their doors and gave them no quarters. Consequently some Sikhs hid themselves in heaps of dry dung cakes, hay stacks, fields of wheat, gram and mustard and under the corpses. The main body of the Sikhs continued their retreat, now at a greater speed because they had no baggage train to look after, and before evening reached Qutba village. There was a pond of water where the Durranis rushed to quench their thirst. Some of the

[1] Ratan Singh, 448-53. (During this struggle several horses under Jassa Sing and Charat Singh were killed and on one occasion Jassa Singh was saved by Gurmukh Singh who gave him his own horse and himself fought on foot. Ibid, 451, 453).

Sikhs also drank water there, and then they took advantage of the opportunity and slipped away at a rapid speed towards Barnala.[1]

Skirmishes continued between the Sikhs and the Afghans, while Ahmad Shah himself kept up the pursuit as far as Barnala, 25 miles from Kup, where he called a halt. Further pursuit was not carried on for several reasons. The sun had set by the time they reached Barnala. His soldiers were already tired of having covered 150 miles in about 36 hours. In the fierce contest with the Sikhs they were exhausted. His own loss during the action in the day was, perhaps, sufficiently considerable to deter him from further pursuit. Besides, the Sikhs had gone pretty far away from the Afghan soldiers, and the Abdali in view of the old tactics of the Sikhs had to think twice before ordering a fresh pursuit. Scarcity of water and the sandy nature of the soil were further impediments. Moreover, the Abdali thought that a slaughter of large numbers of them was a sufficient proof of his strength, which would not enable them to rise again. The Sikhs, but for a straggler here and there, were clear of the danger-zone and now they found themselves in the lonely uninhabited desert.

The battle is called by the Sikhs *Ghallughara* or bloody carnage, in which about 12,000 Sikhs lost their lives.[2]

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[1] Ratan Singh, 454-55.

[2] The Sikh losses in this battle are variously estimated: —Miskin, 243 (25,000); Khazana-i-Amira, 114 (29,000); Siyar, iii. 74 (20,000); Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 122a (22,000); Husain Shahi, 83 (30,000); Forster, i. 319 (25,000); Malcolm, 98 (upwards of 20,000); Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 17 (30,000); Tarikh-i-Ali, 146 (20,000); Ahmad Shah, 885 (17,000); Prinsep, 24 (25 to 30,000); M'Gregor, i. 132 (17,000);

3. Alha Singh is taken prisoner.

It may be mentioned that Barnala was a fortified place in the territory of Alha Singh of Patiala. As a matter of fact the retreating Sikh force had gone towards Barnala in the hope of receiving some succour from the Malwa Sikhs. Alha Singh, however, maintained his policy of neutrality even on this occasion. He had already left his head-quarters at Patiala for Dhunda-dhura (Dhandhaota, 17 miles south of Patiala ?)

Ahmad Shah Durrani, who was now stationed at Barnala, naturally expected Alha Singh to come and pay him homage. But Alha Singh was hanging between two fires. Should he attened on the Durrani, who had massacred as many as 12,000 of his co-religionists, he would surely invite the wrath of his community. Again, should he abstain from attendance on the Shah, he was sure to lose the favour of his liege lord. He, however, chose the latter course ; while the Abdali too took a lenient view of the matter.

Alha Singh's rivals took advantage of his absence and

Cunningham, 109 (12 to 25,000) ; Hugel, 271 (20 to 30,000) ; Ganesh Das, 200 (30,000) ; Ali-ud-din, 124a (30,000) ; Ratan Singh, 457, as told by the people (50,000) and as he heard from his father and uncle, present in the battle (30,000) ; Gyan Singh, 827 (13,000) ; Shamshir Khalsa, 112 (10 to 12,000) ; Karam Singh, 221 (15 to 20,000) ; Sarkar, ii. 486 (10,000).

A Marathi letter written from Shamli 20 days after the battle, reproduced in Rajwade, vi. 465, says that five to seven thousand Sikhs were slain. The real number, however, cannot be ascertained for want of muster rolls and the irregular forma ion of the Sikh contingents.

Granth Sahib's two volumes—those of Damdama and Amritsar, are said to have been lost in this action. Cf. Gyan Singh 826 and Karam Singh, in the Phulwari, September 1928, p. 927.

began poisoning the ears of the Durrani. His rising power had naturally excited the jealousy of his neighbours, particularly of the Nawab of Malerkotla, the Rai of Raikot and Lachhmi Narayan, Diwan of Zain Khan. They further misrepresented Alha Singh's attitude towards the Shah by declaring that he had always given secret help to the Manjha Sikhs on different occasions.[1]

These misrepresentations and the temptation[2] of a ransom of 50 lakhs from Alha Singh if he was captured, had the desired effect. Abdali consequently stormed his fort of Barnala, set the place on fire and laid waste the entire neighbourhood. Then he advanced on his fort of Dhundadhura, but Alha Singh cleverly managed to give the invader the slip. Alha, however, did not find further retreat of much avail and sought the intervention of Najib-ud-daulah to present himself before the Shah. He was imprisoned and ordered to have his hair cut. Alha Singh was not at all dismayed, and offered to purchase his hair. Ahmad Shah enquired the price and on Alha Singh's volunteering one lakh of rupees, the bargain seems to have been struck at one lakh and twenty-five thousand. An additional sum of 5 lakhs was also realized and an annual tribute was fixed on him, and then, on the recommendation of Shah Vali Khan he was released, though he was detained in his train. Ahmad Shah left Sirhind for Lahore on the 15th February.[3]

[1]Buti Shah, 277b-278a ; Tarikh-i-Sidhu, 76 ; Raj Khalsa, 385.

[2]"Raja Lachhmi Narain of Sirhind, a former servant of our government, is the Diwan of Zain Khan, the Shah's agent and faujdar. He has promised the Shah 50 lakhs of rupees as peshkash, and has planned to take him to Alha Jat's garhi." Rajwade, vi. 465.

[3]Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 171-72. Ali-ud-din. 124b. Miskin, 244. Rajwade, vi. 382. Delhi Chronicle, 190.

4. SACRED BUILDINGS OF THE SIKHS AT AMRITSAR DESTROYED.

Ahmad Shah, partly in irritation for the troubles the Sikhs had given him in the past and partly from religious bigotry against all infidels, wanted to signalize his march from Sirhind to Lahore. He carried with him 50 cart-loads of the heads of the Sikhs slain in the battle, besides a large number of captives.[1] At Amritsar he destroyed the sacred buildings of the Sikhs. He placed boxes full of ammunition under the foundation of the Harimandir and it was blown up brick by brick. The other materials were set on fire. The houses around it were pulled down. The sacred reservoir was first defaced and then filled up with the debris of the buildings and refuse and was contaminated by slaughtering cows whose blood and entrails were thrown on all sides.[2]

Ahmad Shah reached Lahore on the 3rd March and there erected huge towers with the Sikh heads at the city gates and on the city wall. He also " caused the walls of the principal mosques which had been polluted by the Sicques, to be washed with their blood, that the contamination might be removed, and the ignominy offered to the religion of Mahomet, expiated."[3]

[1]Khushwaqt Rai, 95; Goshai Punjab, 44.

[2]Nur-ud-din, 57a; Forster, i. 320; Malcolm, 98; Khushwaqt Rai, 95; Ratan Singh, 442; Ahmad Shah, 888; Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 172; Buti Shah, 15a; Ratan Chand, 33; Ganesh Das, 200-201; Gulzar-i-Shahi, 525. (Sohan Lal, i. 155 and Gyan Singh, 828-29 state that on this occasion Ahmad Shah was hit on the nose by a brick of the Harimandir and the festering wound developed into cancer).

[3]Khazana-i-Amira, 114; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 122a. Khushwaqt Rai, 95; Forster, i. 320.

5. Abdali stays in the Punjab, March—December 1762.

Abdali stayed in Lahore for nine months,—March to December—to suppress any further rising of the Sikhs. Aiming at killing two birds with one stone, he invited all the Indian potentates to send him their envoys in order to regulate the affairs of Hindustan and to re-organize his financial resources. Najib and Yaqub Ali Khan, the representatives of the Delhi Emperor, were already with him. Bapu and Purushottam Mahadev Hingane, the Maratha ambassadors at Delhi, were addressed three or four letters calling them to Lahore. Bapu joined him about the middle of March and Purushottam in May on obtaining sanction from the Peshwa. His Wazir, Shah Vali Khan, advised the Durrani to open negotiations with the Peshwa on friendly terms and prevailed upon him to recognize the authority of the Peshwa by presenting him through his envoys (accompanied by one ambassador of his own), with " the tika of Rajaship, the impression of his palm dipped in saffron (keshar-panja), robes, jewels, horses and an elephant." (June 1762).[1]

Najib-ud-daulah and Raza Quli Khan (Munir-ud-daulah) had already been dismissed with the letters of confirmation of Shah Alam as Emperor and Shuja-ud-daulah as Wazir. Then he called upon the various chiefs and zamindars of the Punjab to gather in Lahore. They did so. The Abdali sought their assistance in the extirpation of the Sikhs and settled plans for the future.[2]

[1]C.P.C. i. 1532. Rajwade, vi. 382, 384, 423, 425. Sarkar, ii. 488.

[2]Nur-ud-din, 57a. Ahmad Shah, 886.

6. ABDALI RE-CONQUERS KASHMIR.

By June the Abdali was free from these transactions and the various representatives from different parts of India had taken leave of Ahmad Shah in view of the oppressive heat of the Punjab and the approach of the rainy season. The Durrani decided to utilize this interval in reconquering Kashmir where his Governor Sukhjiwan Mal had thrown off allegiance to him. He invited Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu to Lahore and induced him to lead an expedition into Kashmir under his personal guidance. He was given three to four thousand Durrani troops. Ranjit Dev started in June, but found all the passes closed by Sukhjiwan, and in consequence came back baffled.

Another expedition on a larger scale was fitted out later on, probably in September because July and August being the rainiest months allowed no easy approach to the Kashmir valley, as the way to it from Jammu (200 miles) was cut up with a large number of streams and the rivers Chenab and Jhelum all of which were then in flood. Nur-ud-din was in charge of this undertaking, who with the active assistance of Ranjit Dev succeeded in defeating and capturing Sukhjiwan. Kashmir was then annexed to the Durrani Empire and Nawab Sarbuland Khan appointed its Governor.[1]

7. ABDALI'S SUMMER CAMP AT KALANAUR, c JULY—AUGUST 1762.

After despatching his first expedition to Kashmir

[1]Rajwade, vi. 384 (Supplement). Khushwaqt Rai, 155. Khazana-i-Amira, 115-16; Siyar, iii. 74-75; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 122a-b; Ahmad Shah, 886; Ganesh Das, 162-64.

Ahmad Shah Abdali did not like to stay in Lahore where the summer heat was becoming rather unbearable for him. Consequently he retired to the upper parts of the Bari Doab which possessed a cooler climate and plentiful supplies of grain, grass and game. He set up his summer headquarters at Kalanaur, where Akbar was enthroned in 1556 A.D.[1]

8. Sikhs run to Malwa where they are maltreated by the Brar Jats, *c.* February—April 1762.

Leaving the Abdali at Kalanaur, let us now turn our attention to the Sikhs. After their defeat in their running fight from Kup to Barnala on the 5th February they had escaped to the desert country of Rohi in the course of the following night, and in different groups had taken shelter at Jaito, Ablumahme, Bhagtu, Ballu, Kawoni, Daurmati, Charak Chabare, Gheriye, Faridkot and Kangar etc. Those who had escaped from the battle-field were severely wounded. According to Ratan Singh, "not a single Sikh escaped unhurt and each bore some wounds on his body." Most of them had lost their horses and camels. Nobody was sure of the safety of his family members.

The Brar Jats who mostly inhabited the Malwa desert and with whom the Sikhs were in the habit of seeking shelter, treated them cruelly on this occasion, probably

[1]Ahmad Shah, 888; Ali-ud-din, 125b. (It was the famous hunting ground of the Mughal Emperors. Adina Beg was so much charmed with the nature of the country that he founded his new capital at Adina-nagar. Later on Maharajas Ranjit Singh and Sher Singh established their summer capital in the heart of this territory at Batala.

fearing to invite hostilities from the Abdali, and drove them away from their villages.[1]

9. THE SIKH FEELING : THE ALLOY IS GONE AND THE PURIFIED KHALSA REMAINS.

The Sikhs having left the villages of the Brars settled in the neighbourhood of Bhatinda, Kot Kapura and Faridkot. It was not in their nature to submit timidly to tyranny. The savage massacre of the Durrani animated, instead of depressing, their courage. Thus it was that after their recent calamities when they gathered in a general body for the first time, a Sikh shouting at the pitch of his voice declared that in the *Ghallu Ghara* the alloy had been swept off and only the purified Khalsa remained to carry on the work of the Guru.[2]

The Sikhs were apparently defeated ; but a defeat, under some circumstances, is as honourable as a victory ; and on this occasion, the Sikhs, being caught between the jaws of the nutcracker had offered a very stout resistance. They had lost, not because they were bad soldiers or there were no good leaders among them, but because their opponents were superior in artillery, which the Sikhs were absolutely without, and they were taken unawares ; besides, they were encumbered with their baggage train in which were their women and children.

[1]Ratan Singh, 460, 457. We are further given to understand by Ratan Singh, the author of Prachin Panth Parkash, that the Sikhs were molested by the Brars in every possible way, the details of which are given on pages from 459 to 464. The Brar Jats were originally Bhatti Rajputs and in former days were a wild and unruly race addicted to cattle-stealing and dacoity. Rajas of the Punjab, 547.

[2]Karam Singh, Phulwari September 1928, p. 927.

These disasters, did not lower their spirits but each success or failure brought them new life, renewed vigour and fresh enthusiasm, as is observed by Malcolm, who says :—"The Sikh nation, who have, throughout their early history, always appeared, like a suppressed flame, to rise into higher splendour from every attempt to crush them, had become, while they were oppressed, as formidable for their union, as for their determined courage and unconquerable spirit of resistance."[1]

10. THE SIKHS ATTACK ZAIN KHAN, MAY 1762.

In May the Sikhs decided to measure swords with Zain Khan, and marching in a strong body, invested Sirhind.[2] In the action that followed they defeated Zain Khan and laid him under heavy tribute. A Marathi letter dated June 1762 written from Lahore by Bapu, then in attendance upon Ahmad Shah Abdali, to Dada, gives the following details about this campaign :—" I had formerly reported that the Sikhs had caused disturbances in Sirhind District. Recently Zain Khan, the faujdar of the place made peace by paying down Rs. 50,000. The Sikhs marched away 10 or 12 kos, when Zain Khan treacherously looted their (rear) baggage. So the Sikhs turned back, plundered the baggage of Zain Khan, looted his Diwan Lachhmi Narayan. Afterwards a (pitched) battle was decided upon. The two sides are fighting at Harnulgarh,[3] 15 kos from Sirhind. Such is the latest news."

[1] Malcolm, 102-103. Cf. Forster, i. 320.

[2] Sarkar, ii. 490.

[3] Probably Bahadurgarh, 20 miles south of Sirhind and 5 miles east of Patiala. Rajwade, vi. 384.

11. SIKHS COMMENCE VISITING AMRITSAR, c. JULY—AUGUST 1762.

Zain Khan's defeat emboldened the Sikhs, the more so because the Abdali had not come to the assistance of his chief on account of the hot weather and flooded rivers. Deciding to take advantage of the hottest and rainiest months—July and August—they increased their depredations and spread disorder and chaos in the country. Ahmad Shah's troops were helpless in pursuing the Sikhs, while the contingents of the zamindars of the Punjab did not either come to an open engagement with the Sikhs or they were easily defeated and dispersed. Thus the Sikhs grew bolder everywhere and they ventured to visit Amritsar in broad daylight in groups of about one thousand. They also infested the neighbourhood of Lahore and devastated the country all around.[1]

12. THE DURRANI IS BAFFLED BY THE SIKHS.

Such enterprises of the Sikhs annoyed the Durrani so much that he led some expeditions against them himselt, but the Sikhs immediately disappeared in the thick forests in the neighbourhood of Amritsar. These tactics embarassed the Durrani much and he despatched various Afghan chiefs in their pursuit. These detachments, however, utterly failed in checking the disturbances of the Sikhs. If a Sikh was captured in these expeditions and was asked to disarm himself, he boldly refused to do so, loudly announcing that wearing arms was a part his

[1]Miskin travelled from Sirhind to Sialkot and back, probably in July. He says that the Sikhs were growing stronger while the Afghans were busy in laying the country waste, and dearness 'of flour prevailed everywhere Miskin, 246-47. Ahmad Shah, 887-88 and 983 ; Sohan Lal, Appendix to Vol. 1, 19

religion. In order to plague the Abdali further and as a token of resentment at the Abdali's misdeed in destroying and polluting their sacred buildings at Amritsar, they destroyed the Muslim tombs and mausoleums, used mosques as stables for their horses and called the Musalmans and the Durrani by insulting names.[1]

13. Confusion caused in his country by the Sikhs, c. August, 1762.

After the uniform success of their scattered raids, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia decided to lead the entire body of the Dal Khalsa into the Jullundur Doab. They fell upon the villages which had shown a hostile attitude towards them, plundered the people and set fire to their houses. Having acquired an immense booty in the form of money, horses, goods and grain, they retired towards the Malwa desert.

During the first half of this year (February-June), says the eye-witness Miskin, " the roads again had become open on all sides, the danger of robbery and fear of highwaymen disappeared from each direction, because Ahmad Shah was staying in Lahore." But from July onward the whole province fell in a state of chaos. As a consequence, the roads to all kinds of traffic and trade became closed and disorder prevailed everywhere in the whole country under the control of the Shah.[2]

13. Sikhs Muster strong in the neighbourhood of Karnal, 25th August–24th September, 1762.

It seems probable that the Sikhs retired from the

[1] Ganesh Das, 201, 202.

[2] Sohan Lal, i. 158-59. Miskin, 244-247. Sarkar, ii. 490-91.

Jullundur Doab in a hurry as Ahmad Shah Abdali lay encamped near by, and crossing the Sutlej they marched through Malwa and mustered strong in the neighbourhood of Karnal and Panipat, where they lay encamped for a month, from 25th August to 24th September 1762.[1] Ahmad Shah Abdali again summoned the agents of the North-Indian powers to Lahore, and in response to his call Nawab Ya'qub Ali Khan and Munir-ud-daulah, the envoys of the Delhi Emperor, left Delhi about the middle of September. They had proceeded as far as Panipat when they learnt that the Sikh armies had gathered in the neighbourhood. Consequently they returned to Sonipat.[2]

15. Abdali fails in dispersing the Sikhs from Amritsar, 17th October 1762.

Leaving Karnal on the 24th September, the Sikhs turned their steps towards Lahore obviously to celebrate the Diwali festival at Amritsar. By this time Ahmad Shah Abdali had come back to Lahore. It seems probable that in early October the Sikhs appeared in the neighbourhood of Lahore, where they constantly harassed the Shah's troops who were sent out in their pursuit. We are given to understand by Ahmad Shah of Batala that the Sikhs became so bold as to hover round the flanks of the Afghan army within a distance of 4 or 5 miles.

The Sikhs now made up their minds to wash away the blot of their defeat at Kup. The Diwali day, their great festival, was to fall on the 17th October 1762. Moreover, it was the occasion of the total eclipse of the

[1] Delhi Chronicle, 192.

[2] Delhi Chronicle, 192-93; Cf. Rohtak Gazetteer, 18.

sun. No better opportunity of fighting with the enemy in order to retrieve the honour of their national character and of laying down their lives in the service of the Panth could be expected. The debris of their sacred temple and the sight of the defiled tank roused them to make the highest exertion and to stake their existence in a national cause. The noblest as well as the basest passions of the human soul were closely mingled on this occasion,—the recovery of honour and the wreaking of vengeance. Above all, their recent experience in fighting a pitched battle for the first time had made them conscious of their dormant faculties. Consequently, their resolve was made and in a body of 60,000 strong, many of whom bore the scars of the recent struggle, they marched towards Amritsar, where they arrived just a day before the festival "and took an oath to make every effort to cut off the Shah's army" in case of an attack by him.[1]

Ahmad Shah was in Lahore, 30 miles south of Amritsar. On this occasion he had not a large army with him, partly because he had no fear from any serious enemy except the Sikhs to whom he attached not much importance, and partly because after his great victory over the Marathas, the previous year, his prestige had reached its zenith and he considered it enough to strike a terror into the hearts of the Sikhs. Moreover, in case of need he could unhesitatingly call upon his Indian allies, especially the Rohilas, to assist him in any serious undertaking against the Sikhs.

[1] Browne, II. 25. (The number of the Sikhs amounting to 60,000 is supplied to us by Forster, i. 322).

But at this time Ahmad Shah was taken unawares. He could never have dreamt that the Sikhs, upon whom he had inflicted a crushing defeat in the battle of Kup, would be able to recover so soon as to rise in revolt under his very nose when he was still in the Punjab. He was suddenly called upon to face a strong body of the Sikhs at a time when no Indian ally of his was with him, because all of them had left him before the rains. His ranks had thinned as he also had sustained heavy losses in the battle of Kup; while a big portion of whatever troops he had was away to Kashmir. Moreover, he got such a short notice of the intention of the Sikhs that he had no time to summon his lieutenants from Sirhind, Multan and other places in the Punjab. Thus Ahmad Shah was left single-handed with his meagre resources to face the serious menace of the Sikhs.

The Shah knew the weakness of his position and thought of averting this menace by diplomacy. Consequently, he despatched an ambassador to the Sikhs to negotiate for peace, "but on the arrival of this person in the camp of the Sicks, instead of listening to his proposal they plundered him and his followers and drove them away."[1] Finding no chance for a peaceful settlement with the Sikhs Ahmad Shah immediately marched to Amritsar and in the evening of the 16th October encamped close to the town.

The Sikhs drew up their armies early next morning and attacked the enemy so vehemently as not to care at all for their lives. The Afghans also fought with equal valour and energy and displayed great strategy under the

[1] Browne, ii. 25.

leadership of the greatest general of Asia of his time; but no amount of war tactics and military science could overcome the frantic enthusiasm evoked by the religious sentiment of sacrifice. The battle raged furiously from early morning to late at night. The enterprise and courage of the Afghans gradually gave way before the astonishing activity and invincible perseverance of the Sikhs. The hostilities were brought to a close on account of the pitch darkness of the Amawash night. Both the armies then drew off to their respective camps to take rest for the night; but next morning it was discovered that the Shah had made good his escape to Lahore under cover of darkness.[1]

[1] Forster on pp. 321-22 of Vol. i. of his Journey states that "the records of the Sicques give a relation of a battle fought with the Afghans" which he describes in these words :—"This event is said to have happened in October 1762, when the collected body of the Sicque nation, amounting to sixty thousand cavalry had formed a junction at the ruins of Amrutsir for the purpose of performing some appointed ceremony, and where they resolved, expecting the attack, to pledge their national existence, on the event of a battle. Ahmad Shah, at that time encamped at Lahore, marched with a strong force to Amritsir, and immediately engaged the Sicques; who roused by the fury of a desperate revenge, in sight also of the ground sacred to the founders of their religion, whose monuments had been destroyed by the enemy they were then to combat, displayed, during a bloody contest, which lasted from the morning until night, an enthusiastic and fierce courage, which ultimately forced Ahmad Shah to draw off his army and retire with precipitation to Lahore." (Cf. Browne, ii, 25-26; Ali-ud-din, 125-26; History of the Sikhs, D'Rozario & Co., 98).

Forster, however, doubts the reality of this event when he further writes :—

"Any probability of this event can only be reconciled by a supposition, that the army of Ahmad Shah had suffered some

16. AHMAD SHAH LEADS AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SIKHS TOWARDS LAKHI JUNGLE, *c.* NOVEMBER 1762.

The Sikhs had done their work and achieved their object in the battle of Amritsar. They had retrieved the loss of their national prestige and honour. Having driven the Abdali back to Lahore, they themselves fled to the Lakhi Jungle, fearing a fresh Afghan attack.

The Durrani expedition to Kashmir was successful, and his contingent returned with flying colours (*c.* November). The representatives of his Indian allies were also pouring into Lahore in the beginning of the cold weather and had gathered in the provincial capital by November. Abdali himself was repenting of his late over-confidence and hasty action. He was anxious for another opportunity to inflict a more crushing defeat on the enemies of his faith

extraordinary reductions, previously to the period in which this occurrence (A total eclipse of the sun is said to have happened on the day of action) is said to have happened." p. 323.

Malcolm, 100-101, and Sarkar, ii. 491, footnote, hesitate to believe the authenticity of this record. But the study of the main trend of Sikh history during our period in general and the events following Ghallu Ghara in particular, coupled with the weak position of the Abdali on this occasion will convince the reader that the achievement of such a feat by the Sikhs was not outside the range of possibility. After all, world history affords us numerous examples of the miracles wrought by human will power against heavy odds. Shall we lose sight of such a strong factor ?

James Browne assigns a later date to this event, but we accept the authority of Forster, who visited the Punjab earlier and whose account of the Sikhs is more exhaustive and critical than that of Browne.

and kingdom. Consequently he fitted out another expedition in their pursuit, the account of which as given by Ahmad Yadgar, is reproduced below :—

"The Shahanshah one day marched towards Lakhi Jungle and Manjha desert on a hunting expedition. He ordered that every Hindu having hair on his head which is the badge of the Sikhs must be slain. On hearing this news the Sikhs concealed themselves and fled away. The triumphing troops were despatched after them. One day a body of the Sikhs appeared on the hunting-ground. A contingent was appointed to capture them. Suddenly another body (of the Sikhs) came there from the other side, and began to fight the Shah's troops. The Durrani Emperor was smoking a hubble-bubble. These wretches blindly came ahead. On approaching nearer one Sikh horseman galloped his horse on the Shah. The valiant king put an arrow in his bow and hit him on the chest in such a way that it passed out through his back. The others were killed by his attendants, eunuchs and qarawals, while the rest took to flight."[1]

17. Ahmad Shah leaves for Afghanistan, 12th December 1762.

In the beginning of winter at Abdali's desire, Najib-ud-daulah, and Ya'qub Ali Khan from Delhi and Munir-ud-daulah, Agha Raza and Abdul Ahad from the camp of Shah Alam II, had joined him. The Durrani himself recognized Shah Alam as Emperor of Delhi and promised in return for a tribute of 40 lakhs a year to be paid by Najib and Munir-ud-daulah on behalf of the Emperor to

[1] Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 172-73.

lend the support of his name without any armed assistance in compelling the Indian princes to acknowledge the new Emperor's authority.[1]

On concluding this settlement he turned his attention towards the Punjab affairs. Zain Khan was retained in charge of Sirhind province. The title of Raja was conferred upon Ghamand Chand of Kangra and he was confirmed in the administration of the hill territory between the Beas and the Sutlej. Jullundur Doab was given to Sa'adat Yar Khan. Murad Khan was installed in the government of the upper Bari Doab and Jahan Khan's authority was extended from the Indus to the Ravi besides his own province of Peshawar; while Raja Kabuli Mal was given the supreme command of the whole province.[2]

Some disturbances having broken out in his own dominions of Afghanistan where his presence was immediately required, Ahmad Shah left Lahore for home on the 12th December 1762.[3]

[1] Delhi Chronicle, 194; Sarkar, ii. 489.

[2] Bakhtmal, 99; Sohan Lal, i. 159. Khushwaqt Rai, 95; (Kabuli Mal was a Brahman from Kabul, Hugel, 271; but according to the author of Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan, 60b, he was a Kapur Khatri).

[3] Forster, i. 320; Delhi Chronicle, 194.

CHAPTER X.

THE CONQUEST OF THE SIRHIND PROVINCE
January 1763—January 1764.

1. The exploits of the Sikhs, c. January-March 1763.

On the retirement of the Abdali from the Punjab, the Sikhs came out of the Lakhi Jungle, and created disturbances everywhere. The entire body of the Dal Khalsa feel into two halves. One division, called the *Buddha Dal* (the elder', under the renowned Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, consisting of six misls,—Ahluwalia, Singhpuria, Dallewalia, Karorasinghia, Nishanwala and Shahids,—toured over the country, punishing their enemies, replenishing their stores and striking terror into the hearts of the people, so that none might oppose them in future. The other division, known as the *Taruna Dal* (the junior), consisting of five misls—Ramgarhia, Kanhaya, Sukarchakia, Bhangi, and Nakai, under the leadership of Hari Singh Bhangi, were stationed at Amritsar. They were to carry on the work of digging out and cleansing the Pool of Immortality and doing repairs to their holy buildings.[1]

The Buddha Dal then seems to have fallen on Lahore to punish the Afghans and other Muslims who had sided with Ahmad Shah in their massacre and persecution. We reproduce below their doings in the capital of the province, in the words of Forster who visited the Punjab twenty years latter:— " Soon after the march of Ahmed Shah, the Sciques were seen descending from their various

[1] Miskin, 247. Ratan Singh, 473.

holds on the Punjab, which they rapidly laid waste and after several desultory actions, in which the Afghans were defeated, they besieged, and what seems extraordinary, they took the city of Lahore ; where wildly indulging the enmity that had never ceased to inflame them against these severe scourges of their nation, they committed violent outrages. The mosques that had been ever rebuilt or restored to use by the Mahomedans, were demolished with every mark of contempt and indignation ; and the Afghans, in chains, washed the foundations with the blood of hogs. They were also compelled to excavate the reservoir at Amrutsir, which in the preceding year they had filled up. The Sicques, however, keenly actuated by resentment, set a bound to the impulse of revenge ; and though the Afghan massacre and persecution must have been deeply imprinted on their minds, they did not, it is said, destory one prisoner in cold blood."[1]

2. Sack of Kasur, *c.* May 1763.

The whole body of the Sikhs gathered together at Amritsar to celebrate the Baisakhi festival which fell on the 10th April 1763. At Amritsar some Brahmins of Kasur came and made a bitter complaint against the treatment of the Hindus by the Afghans of Kasur with particular reference to Usman Khan who had seized the beautiful wife of one of them and converted her to Islam.[2]

[1] Forster, i. 321. ("When the exalted Shah returned that progressive sect came out from forests and mountains and busied in plundering the property of the Muslims, turned their mosques and monasteries into the stables for their horses and stopped the Islamic practices as 'azan' etc. in the Muslim villages and subjected them to a great persecution." Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 173).

[2] Buti Shah, 223a ; Ratan Singh, 473-74 ; Gyan Singh, 797-98.

Hari Singh Bhangi the head of the *Taruna Dal* at once accorded assent to help the Brahmins. He was opposed by others on several grounds. The Pathans were very powerful; their twelve forts were full of arms and ammunition; they would be joined by the other Afghans. But Hari Singh was firm. After some time Charat Singh also supported him, but proposed to take an augury from their sacred *Granth*. The Book was opened at random, the lines at the top were read which urged every one to keep his word.[1]

Consequently the Taruna Dal marched from Amritsar. At every stage they were joined by fresh recruits, and by the time they reached Kasur their number had swollen to 24,000. Some of the scouts of the Sikhs had advanced to Kasur in the disguise of shopkeepers and merchants and brought the news that the whole town was unaware of the movements and intentions of the Sikhs. They were further informed that the Afghans spent their day in underground cells on account of the intensity of heat. The Sikhs, therefore, made their way into the town at mid-day and took the people by surprise.

The Sikhs placed their own watchmen at the gates which they closed, and the means of communicaton being entirely cut off the Sikhs gave the town up to wholsale plunder. Usman Khan with 500 of his followers was slain, and the Brahmin lady was restored to her real husband. The head of the Pathan chiefs, Ghulam Muhiuddin Khan, died fighting. His nephew Hamid Khan fell at the feet of Sardar Jhanda Singh and begged for his life on the payment of four lakhs of rupees. The

[1] Ratan Singh, 476; Gyan Singn, 802.

city was sacked and burnt. Such large quantities of gold, silver, ornaments, jewels and pearls etc. fell into their hands that all became rich.[1]

3. The Jullundur Doab is run over, c. June 1763.

We have mentioned that only five Misls known as the *Taruna Dal* had come to Kasur. The other six misls (the *Buddha Dal*) under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia marched towards the east, and crossing the river Beas entered the Jullundur Doab then held by Saadat Yar Khan. The Governor was so much terrified that he did not stir out of his capital, though the Sikhs laid waste the very suburbs of Jullundur. The people shut themselves up inside the walls of their villages and towns. The Sikhs now seized their old possessions and spent the Chaumasa (June—September, the four months of the rainy season) in consolidating their territories and acquiring more in their neighbourhood.[2]

4. Jahan Khan is defeated on the Chenab, Middle of November 1763.

On the approach of the Diwali festival (4th November) the Sikhs began to pour into Amritsar from all parts

[1] Buti Singh, 223a. Ahmad Shah, 491-92: (Is is said that Jassa Singh Ramgarhia got so much gold, ornaments, jewels and pearls that they were carried by four strong men on a large bedstead. This treasure was buried by him in the forest near Amritsar, but he missed the place later on and lost it for ever.

The Ramgarhia and Kanhaya Misls worked together and shared all their booty equally. On this occasion, however, Jassa Singh kept the whole loot for himself, and as a consequence ill-feeling arose between the two chiefs. Ratan Singh, 483; Gyan Singh, 805).

[2] Bakhtmal, 99; Sohan Lal, I. 160; Shamshir Khalsa, 107.

of the country. They had cleaned the tank in order to enable themselves to take a bath, but the construction of the Hari Mandir was postponed in view of the impending invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

They were busy in their festivities when the news was brought to them that Jahan Khan, Commander-in-chief of Ahmad Shah Durrani, had left Peshawar and was crossing the Indus at Attock. The Sikhs got ready to oppose the invader and marched to meet him on the way. Jahan Khan had just crossed the Chenab at Wazirabad when the Sikhs fell upon him and gave him a crushing defeat, about the middle of November 1763. He fled back and the Sikhs returned to Amritsar.[1]

5. Malerkotla is laid waste, c. December 1763.

The Sikhs came back to Amritsar by the end of November and stayed there for some days in performing thanksgiving ceremonies At this time some of their co-religionists came to them from Malwa, proposing an attack on Malerkotla for the treacheries of the Nawab against the Khalsa. The matter was discussed at length and a Gurumata was passed in favour of the proposal.[2]

The Sikhs marched to the Malwa country in a strong body under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, suddenly appeared under the walls of Malerkotla and laid siege to the place. Bhikhan Khan boldly came out with a small number of horse and foot and fell upon the Sikhs. He was hit by a bullet in the chest and instantly fell dead on the spot.

[1] Delhi Chronicle, 198. (The news of Jahan Khan's defeat arrived at Delhi on the 11th December, 1763).

[2] Ratan Singh, 467.

Maler was for the second time given up to plunder. The town was razed to the ground and a great booty fell into the hands of the victors.[1]

6. Plunder and Massacre of Morandah, c. Early January 1764.

After the destruction of Malerkotla the Sikhs looked for some more adventure. Some one suggested that they should punish Gangu Brahmin of Kheri and Jani and Mani Ranghars[2] of Morandah for their treachery in handing over Mata Gujri, the mother of Guru Gobind Singh and his two little sons to the Governor of Sirhind. An assembly of the chiefs was called to decide. Dal Singh and Ran Singh of Gharaun village and the Sikhs of Salaundi village pressed the Dal to punish the traitors. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was not prepared to accept such proposals, because he feared that Zain Khan of Sirhind in whose territory these villages were situated would come to the help of his subjects, and in that case they might not be able to achieve their object. But the majority was in favour of the expedition and so Jassa Singh yielded.

To begin with, they marched against Kheri, besieged the village, hunted for Gangu Brahmin and his family, and put all of them to the sword. Then they turned

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[1] Bakhtmal, 99-100; Cf. Goshai Punjab, 80; Browne, ii. 24. Sohan Lal, i. 160-61.

[2] "The original issue of Rajput mothers and Musalman fathers are termed Ranghars These intermarry But if Ranghars marry out of their castes they become sub-Ranghars. There is a body of Hindu Ranghars, too, the original issue of Rajput fathers and Musalman women, and sub-Ranghars similarly created." Punjab Notes and Queries, May 1884, p. 90.

their attention towards Morandah (called also Baghanwala) and despatched their scouts ahead. When these Sikhs approached the village the Ranghars greeted them disdainfully and cracked jokes and passed taunts on them.[1] But when they learnt that the whole Khalsa Dal was marching after them they entered the town panic-stricken, shut the gates and took shelter behind the wall and the ditch.

Charat Singh posted his troops on the way leading from Sirhind in order to check any reinforcements coming from that side; while the other Sikhs got into the ditch and scaled the wall. A number of them belonging to the Misl of Tara Singh got inside the town and threw open the gates after cutting down the guards, thus admitting the rest of the Dal. The Sikhs of Gharuan village led the attack, as they were quite familiar with the people and their houses. They made straight for the house of Jani Khan and Mani Khan, who, together with other members of their family were put to death. Then began the massacre of the inhabitants and nobody except women, children, the aged and the Hindus was spared.

Another town in the neighbourhood named Korali was invaded next because this place belonged to the relations of the Ranghars of Morandah. Moreover Zain Khan's Diwan Lachhmi Narayan, who was on tour for collecting revenues, was staying at Korali. The Sikhs therefore fell upon the village and robbed the Diwan of all his treasure.

Zain was in his capital and the news of the Sikh depredations had reached him. But he was so much

[1]For details see Ratan Singh, 467-68; Gyan Singh, 832.

terrified that he did not stir out of the place. Realizing that the Sikhs would ultimately invade his capital, he opened negotiations with Alha Singh of Patiala asking him to persuade the Sikhs to retire from his country on receiving jagirs for their decent livelihood. Alha Singh deputed his agent Nanu Singh Garewal to the Sikh chiefs, who proudly turned down all the terms of peace, declaring, " We are Singhs and Zain Khan is a Turk, and it is impossible for both of us to be united. Sat Guru himself has granted us kingship and we are winning it by sacrificing our heads."[1]

7. Fall of Sirhind, 14th January 1764.

The Manjha Jats, almost to a man, had embraced Sikhism and now was the turn of the Malwa Jats. The bright view of a rich harvest of plunder drew to the fold of Sikhism thousands of the Jat peasantry of Sirhind province. Alha Singh with his Phulkian contingent had also agreed to join the Manjha Sikhs in this expedition. The total strength of the Dal Khalsa present at the siege of Sirhind is computed at 50,000.[2] Zain Khan's position, on the other hand, had been deteriorating for some time past. Like all other Afghans, he possessed no administrative capacity or uprightness of character. The eye-witness Miskin who had left Zain Khan's service only a year ago, writes : "The manner of the government of Sardar Zain Khan had changed. He departed from his former character and rules of conduct. He stopped paying salaries to his revenue officials and soldiers. He commenced plundering the villages of his districts indiscriminately and gave a portion of the booty to his servants

[1] Ratan Singh, 467-73 ; Gyan Singh, 832-34.

[2] Gyan Singh, 841.

in payment of their arrears, though not amounting even to one-fourth of their dues. In alliance with the hill-Rajahs he became anxious to amass a fortune." The result of this maladministration was that his starving lieutenants and soldiery began to abandon his service and went to Najib-ud-daulah in the Gangetic Doab in search of bread. Miskin was so much disappointed with Zain Khan's greed and maladministration that he left him early in 1763. So had done his two other officers Qasim Khan and Murtaza Khan Bharech.[1]

Zain Khan had realized that the time for the final struggle with the Sikhs had come. He was depressed because he could not expect any help from any quarter. Ahmad Shah Durrani was at Qandahar and he could not be called so soon; while his friend the Nawab of Malerkotla was dead. Saadat Yar Khan in the Jullundur Doab commanded no good troops. The local chiefs of some importance were hostile to him for his high-handedness. Kabuli Mal the Lahore subahdar was like a bird without wings, on account of his poor resources. Thus Zain Khan, entirely left to his own meagre resources, had to combat the bold, proud and courageous Sikhs, superior in numbers, single-handed.

The Sikhs lay encamped in three divisions. The six Misls of the Buddha Dal under Jassa Singh were stationed at Bhaganpur, while the other five Misls (Taruna Dal) were at Panja, and the Phulkian Misl was still at Patiala. Zain Khan was informed of this situation and determined to take advantage of their scattered forces. One night he suddenly issued out of Sirhind and

[1] Miskin, 250, 263; Sarkar, ii. 491-92.

attacked the Taruna Dal near a village named Pir Zain Khan Munayra (seven miles east of Sirhind).

Luckily the Sikhs had decided the preceding evening to make a united attack on Sirhind, and all the three sections of them were already on the move from their encampments. The news of Zain Khan's attack was immediately conveyed to the other two bodies and in a short time they surrounded Zain Khan on all sides, cutting off all his ways of escape. Zain Khan was thus caught between the jaws of a nutcracker, as the Sikhs had been two years previously.

Zain Khan was forced to fight and found himself unable to cope with the situation. He maintained his position in the night, and in the early hours of the morning began to send out his detachments with guns, swivels and matchlocks with a view to diverting the attention of the Sikhs towards themselves, so that he might find time to escape. He was partially successful in his plans because the Taruna Dal actually fell upon the baggage and busied themselves in plunder. But the Buddha Dal under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia besieged him while he had gone only a little further.[1]

Zain Khan evaded his besiegers for some time more, but in his attempt to escape he was shot dead. His Afghan troops fled in all directions in a state of panic; they were hotly pursued and cut to pieces indiscriminately. Thus the Sikhs achieved this grand success quite unexpectedly because they had not come to this side for this purpose. This event is said to have taken place on the 4th Magh Sammat 1820 (14th January 1764).[2]

[1] Ratan Singh, 482-85.

[2] All the recent Punjab historians place the fall of Sirhind in

The Sikhs then rushed to the town of Sirhind and captured it after a short resistance on the part of the inhabitants. They closed the gates and barred all the ways of escape. Each house was taken possession of by a number of Sikhs. The people were stripped of their cash, gold, silver and ornaments; the floors were dug up and the ceilings broken in search of hoarded treasure and all the male persons with the exception of children, the aged and Hindus were put to the sword. A portion of the city was set on fire while most of the houses were razed to the ground.

Then they made for the fort, pulled down the walls in which the Guru's sons were bricked up alive. They erected a platform at that particular place and a *Granthi* (priest) was posted to recite the holy Granth. Then a Gurdwara (temple) was built on this spot, and it was named Fatahgarh.[1]

8. Partition of Sirhind territory, January-February 1764.

On the fall of Zain Khan the territory of Sirhind, a vast tract of plain country, 220 miles long and 160 miles

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December 1763. In the absence of any other contemporary authority, I follow Ratan Singh whose father was present on this occasion, and whose chronology is mostly accurate. Prachin Panth Parkash, 501.

[1] Miskin, 263; Chahar Gulzar Shujai, 531b; Browne, ii.24; Bakhtmal, 100; Sohan Lal, i. 161; Ratan Singh, 499-506; Ali-ud-din, 126a; Gyan Singh, 841-52.

The contempt of the Sikhs against the city can be imagined by the practice still prevalent among them. It is considered a most meritorious action for a Sikh to tear out three bricks from some detached piece of wall yet standing and throw them into the Sutlej

wide extending from the Sirmoor hills and the Jumna in the east to the boundary of the Bahawalpur State in in the west, and from the river Sutlej in the north to Hurriana and Rohtak in the south, worth about sixty lakhs of rupees annually, fell into the hands of the Sikhs. The noted Sikh chiefs who commanded sub-contingents of troops under a Misldar at once dispersed in various directions and according to their strength seized what fell in the way of each. They would demand from the headman of the village either some money or some sugarcane molasses (gur or shakkar) or loaves of bread, in token of submission, and on leaving some of these tokens with one or more of their followers in each village, they would hurry on to the next. "Tradition still describes how the Sikhs dispersed as soon as the battle was won, and how, riding day and night, each horseman would throw his belt and scabbard, his articles of dress and accoutrement, until he was almost naked, into successive villages to mark them as his."[1]

or the Jumna, thus fulfilling the prophecy of the last Guru that "the city of Sirhind will be destroyed to its foundation and its bricks will fall into the Sutlej." The Maharajah of Patiala sold the debris of Sirhind to the North Western Railway Company in 1867 A. D. and the bricks were consequently taken across the Sutlej to be used for metalling the road. Gyan Singh, 850; History of the Punjab, anonymous, i. 221; Hugel, 271.

[1] Ali-ud-din, 179b; Ratan Chand, 34-35. Cunningham, 110; Cf. Chahar Gulzar Shujai, 499b; Ahmad Shah, 896; Ali-ud-din, 126a; Ratan Chand, 34-35; Tarikh-i-Sidhu, 128. (It must be borne in mind that only eight Misls, viz. Ahluwalia, Singhpuria, Bhangi, Dallewalia, Shahid, Karorasinghia, Nishanwalia and Phulkian, participated in this partition. The remaining ones, i. e. Sukarchakia, Nakai, Kanhaya and Ramgarhia excluded themselves from these possessions simply because their eyes were fixed on the

To understand how this territory fell into the hands of the Sikhs without a blow after Zain Khan's defeat, two essential features are to be grasped. The first point is the geographical position. Hemmed in on one side by the hills and on the other by the great jungle tract bordering on the Rajputana desert, the Sirhind division was the central spot through which every horde of invaders was bound to pass on the way to the battle-ground of India at Panipat, with Delhi as its ultimate goal, and therefore it was long destined to feel the effect of every important campaign in Northern India. Consequently the people of this tract, particularly along the track followed by the successive invaders, were so much ground down that they lost all power of resistance to difficulty, and they inherited an attitude of submission to the inevitable.[1]

The Sikhs on the other hand had already stirred the minds of the people of this territory. The first direct experience of the inhabitants was in the time of Guru Tegh Bahadur who frequently toured from his head-quarters at Makhowal in the Hoshiarpur District, a few miles north of the Sutlej, through the country recruiting his disciples. His son and successor Guru Gobind Singh established a chain of forts along the foot of the hills, thus commanding the whole eastern portion of the

territories in the Jullundur, Bari, Rechna, Chaj and Sindsagar Doabs. The Bhangi Misl was the strongest of all these Misls at this time and it included as many big chiefs in it as did all the rest of the Sikh Misls. Therefore its Sardars aimed at gaining territories in whatever part of the country they could, as we shall see presently).

[1] Cf. Chiefs and Families of Note, 1892, 208; Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1908, Punjab, i. 321.

division. Guru Gobind Singh fought with the hill Rajas and the Mughals and by a number of victories inspired awe and fear in the minds of the people. A little later on Banda displayed his valourous deeds in this tract. He also built his fort of Lohgarh near Sadhaura and by splendid and uniform victories cowed down the people so much that even a sweeper belonging to his army and coming back to his own home with a letter of authority from Banda was hailed as a ruler without the slightest resistance. Thus we can account for the easy occupation of this large tract so speedily that most of these Sikhs found themselves in a position to cross over the Jumna to raid the Saharanpur District only a month after the fall of Sirhind.

9. Possessions of the various Misls.[1]

(*i*) *Bhangi* :—Buriya, Dyalgarh, Jagadhri, Dadoopur, Kharwan, Damlah, Ferozepur, Khai, Wan, Bajidpur.

(*ii*) *Karorasinghia* :—Shamsinghian, Dheen, Gadauli, Nuglah, Lalpoor, Musseembul, Kabootarkhana, Balchuppur, Tulakaur, Basur, Kalawar, Kalsia, Leda, Sadhaura, Bilaspur, Kotru, Machhrauli, Milak, Mai Rajan, Seedo Khatrani, Rajkaur, Dhanaura, Radaur, Ullahar, Zenpur, Bheri, Basi, Chhachhrauli, Charak, Kot, Dhramkot, Khurdin, Kinori, Jamaitgarh, Chhalaundi.

(*iii*) *Shahid* :—Shahzadpur, Kesri, Majra, Tepla, Subka, Majru, Tangaur, Taraori, Thaslia, Thol, Jarauli, Rania, Damdama Sahib, Khari.

[1] The details about the Sikh Sardars of note who took advantage of the general melee of 1764 in the scramble for territory are given in Appendix No. II.

(*iv*) *Dallewalia* :—Dhoa, Saran, Mustafabad, Bejral, Chapur, Dhumsi, Gurheh, Jamrayan, Haibatpur, Khera Chunian, Ladwa, Indri, Babain, Shamgarh, Pihoa, Kahod, Sikandara, Sikri, Thanesar, Sialba, Khanna, Dharamsinghwala, Dharamkot, Mari, Tihara, Kang, Lohian, Ropar, Awankot, Siswan, Korali, Khizarabad, Dera, Tandwala, Arnauli Sindhuwal, Bangar, Amlu, Kularkharyal, Akalgarh, Brara.

(*v*) *Nishanwala* :—Ambala, Boh, Babyal, Punjokhra, Thirwa, Shahabad, Lidhran, Amloh, Sarai Lashkari Khan, Singhanwala, Sahniwal, Doraha, Sonti, Zira, Ludhar, Kheri, Ismailabad, Mansurwal.

(*vi*) *Ahluwalia* :—Naraingarh, Bharog, Barwalians, Jagraon, Fatahgarh.

(*vii*) *Phulkian* :—Patiala, Soolhar, Jind, Safaidun, Panipat, Karnal, Kaithal, Nabha, Sirhind, Nilukhagri, Pail, Basi, Latbara, Isru, Baharso, Amloh, Wirro, Bhagan, Malod, Rohtak, Bazidpur.

(*viii*) *Singhpuria* :—Abohar, Adampur, Chhat, Banur, Manauli, Ghanauli, Bharatgarh, Kandaulah, Chune-Machhli, Bhareli.[1]

[1] Cf. Appendix No. II. Report on the Revised Settlement of the Southern Parganahs of the District of Ambala by W. Wynyard, 1859, 10; Karnal Settlement Report, 1872-80, para 88; Karnal Gazetteer, 1883-84, 41.

CHAPTER XI.

SIKH RAVAGES IN THE PUNJAB AND GANGETIC DOAB, FEBRUARY 1764—JANUARY 1765.

1. THE SIKH RAID INTO THE GANGETIC DOAB, FEBRUARY 1764.

The Sikhs took Sirhind on the 14th January, spent about a month in occupying its territory, and by the middle of February 1764 poured into the Gangetic Doab, by crossing the Jumna at Buriya Ghat. This was the Buddha Dal because the Taruna Dal had come back to the Punjab immediately after the fall of Sirhind.

The Sikhs under their leader Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, including other Sikh chiefs like Khushhal Singh, Baghel Singh, Karora Singh, Sham Singh, Tara Singh Ghaiba, Gurbakhsh Singh, Bhanga Singh, Karam and Rai Singh, at the head of about 40,000 horse plundered Saharanpur (20th February 1764), Shamli, Kandelah, Ambli, Miranpur, Devband, Muzaffarnagar, Jawalapur, Kankhal, Landhaurah, Najibabad, Nagina, Muradabad, Chandausi, Anupshahr and Garhmukteshar.[1]

This was the first time that the Sikhs had gone across the Jumna and plundered the villages of Barah, which had for a long time past been the homes of respectable men and of old Sayyid families. They took booty beyond count in coins, gold and jewels, burnt the country and took away captives (for ransom). Najib-ud-daulah

[1] Miskin, 263; Browne, ii. 24; Ratan Singh, 507; Bakhtmal, 103; Gyan Singh, 854-57; Shamshir Khalsa, 114; G. R. C. Williams in Calcutta Review, vol. lx. January, 1875, 26; S. P. D. xxix. 85.

(the owner of the district), being distracted by the news, marched towards the Sikhs, and by fast movement arrived near them.

Najib-ud-daulah had just defeated and slain Suraj Mal and was expecting severe retribution from his son Jawahir Singh and the entire Jat nation, who were making head-long preparations for the same. In view of these difficulties the Sikh inroad greatly embarrassed him, and he preferred to buy off the Sikhs by paying a blackmail of eleven lakhs of rupees. By this time the Abdali had again come into the Punjab, and the Sikhs, therefore, accepted the bribe and returned to their territory early in March. It was, however, the beginning of their annual raids in these new territories.[1]

2. The Sikhs intimidate Kabuli Mal, the Lahore Governor, *c.* February 1764.

After the campaign of Sirhind the Taruna Dal consisting of the Sukarchakia, Nakai, Kanhaya, Ramgarhia and Bhangi Misls turned back to the Punjab, desiring to push their conquests in the west. On their approach the

[1] Nur-ud-din, 72a-b. S. P. D. xxix. 55. Tahmasp Khan Miskin who fought with the Sikhs in these campaigns in the army of Najib-ud-daulah, writes :—"The Sikhs after having completed their occupation and settlement of the Sirhind district in one year (month) made a further advance. In that year 40,000 of their horsemen crossed the Jumna and disturbed and looted the Saharanpur and Meerut districts. Nawab Najib Khan, for a month or two, moved in every direction where the Sikhs were reported to be roving, in order to protect the country, and fought and usually defeated them. As they did not make a firm stand anywhere and offer battle, he had to run about after them, but they did not give up their jackal-tricks." Miskin, 266 ; cf. Sarkar. ii. 395.

Afghan Governor of Jullundur, who had already been terrified by the defeat and death of Zain Khan, took to flight. The Sikhs plundered some of the places, acquired new possessions and then marched upon Lahore.

They seized the neighbouring country, invaded the city, cut off all supplies and demanded the immediate death of all the cow-killing butchers of the city and to stop this practice in future. Kabuli Mal begged to be excused, saying—" I am a servant of a Muslim king and such a course will involve me in the royal wrath." Being terrified he closed all the gates of the city with bricks, keeping open only two for conducting business. The Sikhs then broke through the Delhi Gate and set to plundering the city. Finding the town and himself in danger, Kabuli Mal yielded, cut off the noses, ears and hands of some butchers, banished them from the city, paid a large sum to the Sikhs and thus saved his capital.[1] Hari Singh Bhangi left his nominee Tek Chand as resident in the court of Lahore, who practically directed Kabuli Mal in the administrative work and received an allowance of Rs. 10 per day from the Imperial treasury. This took place in February 1764.

By this time Sobha Singh had also securely established himself in the parganah of Niaz Beg (8 miles south of Lahore) and used to plunder all the goods passing that way. Kabuli Mal tried to save the merchants and invited an agent of Sobha Singh to sit at the octroi office outside the Shahalami Gate and receive the custom duty on all goods coming from the side of Niaz Beg.[2]

[1] Ali-ud-din, 126b.

[2] Ali-ud-din, 127a, 160a; Kanhaya Lal, 87; Shamshir Khalsa, 115. Sarkar, ii. 494.

3. Jahan Khan is routed, February 1764.

The startling news of the Sikh conquest of Sirhind brought Ahmad Shah Abdali once more to the Punjab in February 1764. His advance-guard under Jahan Khan was besieged by the Sikhs in the fort of Sialkot, where he was very much harassed. In one day's fight Jahan Khan's horse was shot dead and its rider fell on the ground. The Sikhs unanimously shouted the name of their Guru and raised cries, 'We have killed Jahana (Jahan Khan) Then all of them at once pulled out their swords from the scabbards and fell upon the enemy.[1] The Afghans left the field. Jahan Khan fled to Peshawar, while a large number of his troops were slaughtered. The entire camp of Jahan Khan fell into the hands of the victors; and as the Sikhs of those days entirely abstained from the fair sex they safely conveyed his family to Jammu.[2]

4. Ahmad Shah encamps near Kalanaur, c. February 1764.

The defeat of his commander-in-chief Jahan Khan greatly perturbed Ahmad Shah Abdali, who now marched onward towards Kalanaur, because his left flank was protected by the territories of his Hindu allies Ranjit Dev of Jammu and Ghamand Chand of Kangra, while on his right were Kabuli Mal and the Guru of Jandiala. Moreover, by leading his Afghan troops, always eager for plunder, through Rearki, a tract extremely fertile and

[1] Sohan Lal, Appendix to vol. i. 14. Ganesh Das, 203.

[2] Ahmad Shah, 964-65; Cf. Sohan Lal, Appendix to vol. i. 13-14; Sohan Lal, ii. 11. Ali-ud-din, 127b-128a; Cf. Ganesh Das, 203-204.

rich in products such as sugar, sesame, wheat and gram, he intended to raise the spirits of his soldiers. He also aimed at enjoying the deer hunt as this part of the country abounded in wild animals, especially in deer. By passing some time in this delightful territory he hoped to be strengthened by his Indian allies, in particular the Afghans, whom he had already called upon to join him. One day while Ahmad Shah lay encamped near Adinanagar, he was attacked by the Sikhs, and it was with some difficulty that he managed to drive them away.[1]

5. Ahmad Shah is harassed at Batala, Jandiala and Lahore, *c.* March 1764.

Ahmad Shah Durrani then raised his camp from Kalanaur and marched towards Lahore. Near Batala he was joined by Sarbuland Khan with 8,000 troops. The Sikhs were hovering round the Abdali's army and were constantly harassing its rear. At Batala another engagement took place between the Afghans and the Sikhs in which Sarbuland Khan was wounded and the Durranis defeated. Ahmad Shah then hurried on to Jandiala where his helper Guru Aqil Das lived. "When the Afghan troops reached near Jandiala, the Sikhs in a body came to oppose them. A battle was fought here also in which the Afghans were defeated and Rahim Khan Bakhshi was slain."[2]

The Shah reached Lahore and took shelter in the fort. He stayed here for a fortnight only. The constant Sikh

[1]Ahmad Shah, 894. Khushwaqt Rai, 97; Sohan Lal, i. 162-73; Shamshir Khalsa, 120. (This event is wrongly stated to have occurred in 1765 by Khushwaqt Rai).

[2]Shamshir Khalsa, 120, Khushwaqt Rai 96.

molestation of his troops and the break-out of disorder in his own realm made him go back to his country. The Sikh bands were hovering round Lahore and were determined to retaliate on him for his previous atrocities. We find Abdali's fortunes this time at the lowest ebb. The lion of Afghanistan, before whom not only the whole of the Punjab but also the Mughal Empire trembled to its roots, who had shaken the foundations of the Maratha power and before whom the whole of India lay prostrate, had now grown so weak before the Sikh people. Such are the miracles of unconquerable resolution.

Ahmad Shah was very much obstructed in the passage of the Ravi. The Sikhs attacked him from such close quarters that "he wondered at their boldness and looked at them in a surprised manner." The Abdali had not gone far when the Sikhs came to Lahore, frightened Kabuli Mal and replanted their military post there.[1]

6. Charat Singh takes Rohtas.

On the retirement of Ahmad Shah Abdali the Taruna Dal was further sub-divided into two parts under its two prominent leaders. Charat Singh marched to the north-west in pursuit of the fugitive Abdali, while Hari Singh Bhangi advanced towards Multan. Charat Singh Sukarchakia trod the Rechna and Chaj Doabs under his feet and then laid siege to the famous fort of Rohtas. It was in the charge of Sarfaraz Khan,[2] the commandant of

[1] Ahmad Shah; 895-96.

[2] This Governor had previously put to death Chaudhari Rahmat Khan Waraich, an officer of note in Gujrat district along with his Diwan Shiva Nath, accusing them of having brought the Sikhs there. Ganesh Das, 211.

Ahmad Shah Durrani. The Governor shut himself up in the fort, mounted his guns on the walls and cannonaded the Sikhs from there. The Sikhs did not lose heart but maintained the siege.

The Sikhs having failed to take the fort by direct assault had recourse to a clever stratagem. They suddenly raised the siege and began to retire. The Afghan garrison rushed out of the fort in pursuit of the retreating army. Charat Singh with his detachment made a detour and succeeded in taking possession of a part of the fort, and assisted by a further reinforcement turned out the rump of the Afghan garrison. Sarfaraz Khan with a handful of followers was allowed to leave the fort unmolested.[1]

7. Sarbuland Khan is taken captive.

On his way to Lahore Ahmad Shah had summoned Nawab Sarbuland Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, to his assistance. Sarbuland Khan arrived in the Punjab on the Indus near Attock after the Durrani had gone back to Kandahar. He was probably detained by the hilly nature of the country. Charat Singh was at this time busy in restoring peace and order in the district of Rohtas. On hearing of the approach of Sarbuland Khan he marched in hot haste after him.

Sarbuland Khan was at the head of a strong force of 12,000 horse and foot; but Charat Singh fearlessly attacked the Afghans, killed many and plundered their baggage. The Afghans fled away panic-striken and their commander Sarbuland Khan was taken prisoner. He was

[1] Sohan Lal, ii.11-12; Ratan Singh, 496-98; Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan, 174; Ratan Chand, 38-39.

confined in the Rohtas fort. The Nawab, however, paid a ransom of two lakhs of rupees and thus secured his release.[1]

Charat Singh then subdued the rebellious chiefs and zamindars of the neighbourhood and seized the parganahs of Dhanni, Pothohar, Chakwal, Jalalpur and Sayyidpur, after which the whole district made submission to him. He then came to Pind Dadan Khan, the climate of which so pleased him that he wanted to remain there. He therefore entered into a treaty with Sahib Khan Gakhar, the chief of the district, and constructed several forts in which he quartered his troops, giving the command to Budh Singh and Kanwar Singh. No sooner had Charat Singh thus gained a footing in the district than he seized the Salt Range, and having transferred the selling mart from Miani to Ramnagar, obtained a very considerable revenue. At each place he appointed his own faujdars who built forts and strongly garrisoned them. Thus Charat Singh's rule was established over a solid block of territory extending between the Indus and the Jhelum from the foot of the hills to the southern outskirts of the Salt Range.[2]

8. The Sikhs ravage the South-Western Punjab, *c.* April—June 1764.

The other section of the Sikhs under the leadership of Hari Singh Bhangi and Hira Singh Naki was equally successful in South-Western Punjab. They captured the

[1] Sohan Lal, ii.12; Ganesh Das, 211-13; Buti Shah, 309a.

[2] Izzat Singh was given charge of the Dhanni country which he held with much difficulty and by dint of constant fighting, (Punjab Chiefs, 92). Ratan Chand, 40-41; Sohan Lal, ii. 9-10.

territories of Lamma and Nakka which were appropriated by the Nakai Misl. Hari Singh then marched upon Multan and captured and plundered it. Then he crossed over the Indus and laid waste the territory of the Darajat.[1]

The Sikhs then marched to subdue the Sials of Jhang territory. These men offered the Sikhs a bold front but were defeated and their territories of Jhang, Khushab and Chiniot were seized by the Bhangis and fell to the share of Jhanda Singh.[2]

Nur Muhammad paid a visit to Chiniot on his way to Lahore only about six months later. He writes :—"The city had been ruined by the atrocities of the Sikhs. All the people of the place were in trouble and misery. The whole town from inside and its suburbs lay in ruin. Its buildings had been pulled down and all the mosques were deserted. They were spoiled by the dung and fodder of

[1] Gyan S., 890. No historian of the Punjab has so far admitted the incursion of the Sikhs into Multan as early as 1764, but the Jang Namah, a unique and priceless manuscript, giving us full details about the 8th invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1765) written by Nur Muhammad, the eyewitness, who followed in Ahmad Shah's train, is quite definite on this point—(p.41).

Further on Nur Muhammad says:—"They led an expedition against Multan and gave the city over to plunder. The Dogs have brought an immense booty from there. My mind refuses (to describe) what the Dogs did there. O faithful ones! since the days of auspicious-natured Adam none remembers to have heard of such miseries inflicted anywhere except in Multan. But as God willed it each of us also should submit." Ibid. 174. Jang Namah 38.

[2] The administration of this territory was entrusted to Karam Singh Dulu, a Bhangi chief. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Punjab, ii.208.

of the horses. The learned people, nobles and the Sayyids of the city led a miserable life. When the Dogs (Sikhs) partitioned this land, the city became the Jagir of the accursed Jhanda (Singh Bhangi.) They divided the whole country, Sirhind, Lahore, Punjab, Multan, Jhang, Khushab and the Chenab among themselves."[1]

9. Second Sikh invasion across Jumna, November–December 1764.

Suraj Mal, the most famous and greatest of the Jat Rajas of Bharatpur was accidentally killed on the 25th December 1763 in a battle with Najib-ud-daulah. His youthful son Jawahir Singh and the entire Jat nation determined to avenge themselves upon the slayer of their chief. Jawahir Singh made preparations on a large scale in the course of the following year. He also hired the services of the Marathas and the Sikhs.

These activities of the young Jat Raja gave Najib a fright. Anticipating that the storm must burst upon him, Najib sent his envoy Meghraj to Ahmad Shah Abdali in Kandahar appealing for help and protection. Meghraj passed through the Punjab in September-October, along the foot of the northern hills *via* Jammu, as the direct road through Lahore had been closed by the Sikhs.[2] Najib then tried to pacify Jawahir Singh, but with him it was a question of honour and prestige, and so he stuck to his resolution. He marched upon Delhi early in November and besieged Najib-ud-daulah in the city. This offered a chance to the Sikhs as Najib's estates in

[1] Jang Namah, 72, ("Chiniot also suffered much from the Durrani inroads during the last half of the eighteenth century." Imperial Gazetteer of India, Punjab, ii.217).

[2] S. P. D. xxix. 73.

Saharanpur, Meerut, Bijnor etc., lay unprotected. The Buddha Dal under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia crossed the Jumna at Buriya Ghat and entered the Gangetic Doab.

They swept over the major portion of this rich territory and displayed a great alacrity in searching for loot, even piercing to the remotest villages situated at the foot of the hills. Najib was besieged in Delhi, but Hafiz Rahmat Khan at the head of a detachment of 6,000 offered the intruders only nominal resistance and then quietly retired. This visitation of the Sikhs is numbered among the most terrible ones which ever befell this unfortunate country.[1]

10. SIKH-JAT ALLIANCE AGAINST NAJIB-UD-DAULAH, JANUARY 1765.

Jawahir Singh had besieged Najib-ud-daulah in Delhi early in November 1764; but the siege was prolonged on account of the lukewarmness of Jawahir's ally Malhar Rao. This made Jawahir Singh seek assistance in another quarter. He invited the Sikhs, who were plundering the Gangetic Doab, to Delhi and concluded his negotiations with them, promising to give a large sum of money and taking 12-15,000 of them in his pay.[2] "The Sikhs arrived (early in January 1765) at Barari Ghat, 7 kos from the city. The river on that side was fordable; Jawahir Singh crossed it, and went to interview the Sikhs. But here his relations with them did not become friendly. They hindered the driver of the elephant

[1] Cf. G. R. C. Williams, Calcutta Review, Vol. LX. January 1875, pp. 26-27; Gulistan-i-Rahmat, 84-85.

[2] Munna Lal, 93. Father Wendel, 97; but 20,000 according to Miskin, 264.

ridden by Jawahir Singh from coming to the assembly of interview. More than a hundred Sardars, as arranged, came and interviewed (him). The sitting of the conference commenced with a prayer, which in their terminology is called Ardas. In it they said, 'Jawahir Singh, the son of Surajmal, has come within the shelter of the Khalsa Jiu and become a Sikh of Nanak. He is demanding redress for his father's blood.' This behaviour was disliked by Jawahir Singh. They also drove out the huqqa-bearer of Jawahir Singh with insult and abuse. But he was in the utmost need (of Sikh assistance) and bore all this. It was settled (that) the Sikhs would prepare for fight and form trenches in the direction from which they had come, namely the north of the city; the Subahdar (Malhar) and Jawahir Singh would fight as before from the eastern side; while the Sikh horsemen would scour the country on the west so as to cut off provisions from the city totally. The fighting went on in this way for twenty days."[1]

11. The Sikh-Rohila contest outside Delhi.

The method of fighting between the Sikhs and Najib-ud-daulah is described in a picturesque way by the eye-witness Nur-ud-din, which we reproduce below :—

"Every day the Sikh troopers used to ride out and enter the old houses which lay desolate, near the garden of Yaqub Ali Khan on the river bank,—such as the mansions of Namkin and Hafiz-ud-din Khan and the

[1] It will be interesting to note that Alha Singh's soldiers numbering 1,000, under Bhola Singh fought on the side of Najib-ud-daulah on this occasion. Karam Singh, 232. Nur-ud-din, 82b-83a.

Badalpura and other mohallas, and wished to come towards the city walls. Najib, leaving men at different places in the trenches near the river, himself with a force of horse and foot and his kettle-drums mounted on elephants, etc. came out by the Lahore Gate, posted his men each under the cover of some ruined house or lane, while he himself sat down on a stone. The Rohilas engaged the Sikhs with their matchlocks. The musketry fight continued briskly till two gharis after nightfall. Mian Niaz Gul, a risaldar of Najib, was wounded with a bullet. The Rohila infantry plied their muskets well. Najib told his men to fire their rockets wherever the Sikh horsemen were standing crowded in a knot, so that they were scattered by the rockets. At some places fighting took place and many Sikhs were wounded. About the time of sunset, a Sikh who wore silver armour, fell down from his horse and the Sikhs wished to carry his corpse off, while the Rohilas, desiring to seize his property, attempted to detain the body. Here the battle raged furiously ; three Rohilas were slain and seven wounded, while many of the Sikhs also were wounded. At last the Rohilas with drawn swords dragged the corpse away. A pouch was found in his belt, containing gold coins, valued at Rs. 1,000. In this manner fighting with the Sikhs went on for nearly one month. At three pahars of the day Najib-ud-daulah used to come out of the city, and the Sikhs also and some of Jawahir's troops sent for aiding them used to arrive on the scene, and they used to fight till sunset. After sunset each party went back to its camp."[1]

[1]Nur-ud-din, 84b-85b.

("January 9, 1765. News from Delhi. Najib-ud-daulah has been

Another great battle was fought between Najib and the Sikhs aided by the Jats, on the 25th January 1765 on the hill near the Horse Market (Nakhas) and the Sabzi-mandi, in which a large number of men were slain and wounded but the result was indecisive as usual.[1]

12. THE SIKHS SUDDENLY RETIRE FROM DELHI, FEBRUARY 1765.

The fighting was going on in Delhi in this way when the news reached the Sikhs that the Abdali had crossed the Indus and was approaching towards Lahore by forced marches. The Sikhs as a consequence suddenly retired to the Punjab, even without asking leave of Jawahir Singh. The details of this invasion are given in the next chapter.

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defeated by Jawahir Singh, and has retired into the fort. The city has fallen into the hands of Jawahir Singh. Najib-ud-daulah is desirous of going to his own country through the assistance of the Marathas." C. P. C. i 2533 A).

[1] Delhi Chronicle, 200, Nur-ud-din, 92.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SIKHS MOLEST THE DURRANI DURING HIS EIGHTH CAMPAIGN, December 1764—March 1765.

1. Ahmad Shah Durrani reaches Lahore; c. December 1764.

The intrepid Ahmad Shah Abdali, a man of patience, prudence, perseverance and irresistible resolution, marched once more to invade India at the head of 18,000 Afghans, and arrived at Eminabad where he was joined by Nasir Khan Baluch with 12,000 strong.[1] The united forces then marched to Lahore where information was collected as to the whereabouts of the Sikhs. Intelligence was brought to the Durrani that the Sikhs had gone towards the Lakhi Jungle, about 150 miles distant from Lahore. The Durrani was familiar with the dangers which a journey to the Lakhi Jungle involved, but he decided to pursue them in that quarter.

Ahmad Shah was still in Lahore, when, one morning the scouting party of the Afghan army was attacked by

[1] The details of this campaign are based on Nur Muhammad's "Jang Namah," a rare manuscript of unique value. The author followed in the train of the Durrani invader, took notes of his deeds on personal observation and compiled the work in Persian verse the same year. The only copy of this work known to exist was in the library of Khan of Kalat (Baluchistan). The late Karam Singh copied it in 1906 This is now available at the Research Department of the Khalsa College, Amritsar. This material is being used here for historical purposes for the first time.

The details of Nasir Khan's march from home to Eminabad covering 77 pages of Jang Namah are purposely omitted here.

the Sikhs.[1] The news of this sudden fighting of the Sikhs was communicated to the Shah, who at once ordered his troops to march under Nasir Khan to reinforce the scouts. The Afghans attacked the Sikhs vehemently. but the Sikhs also fought with equal intensity. Nasir Khan was opposed by Charat Singh Sukarchakia. In the meanwhile the Khan's horse was shot dead, which caused some anxiety to his troops. The fight went on till nightfall, when both the parties retired for rest. Nur Muhammad who was present in the battle and had a narrow escape from the attack of a Sikh, supplies very minute details of it.[2]

2. Ahmad Shah destroys Amritsar.

Having retired from Lahore the Sikhs made straight for Guruchak (Amritsar). When the Shah learnt about it, he said, "I shall immediately go there and slay the Sikhs. I will level the foundations of the Chak to the ground." Consequently, he prepared to invade the place, which he had already ruined on so many occasions, but which had been rebuilt by the Sikhs. The Shah left all his luggage and camp at Lahore, and with a select body of horse, unencumbered by field equipment, marched for the place and reached there on the fourth night.[3] The Sikhs were in the know of his movements, and they had already fled away from Chak Guru. When the Shah

[1] Jang Namah, 77-83.

[2] Jang Namah, 87-103.

[3] He is the same Ahmad Shah who in February 1762 had reached Kup from Lahore in 36 hours covering a distance of 150 miles by crossing over two rivers on the way. Now he reaches Amritsar (32 miles) in four days.

reached there he did not find any of the infidels, with the exception of a few men in the fort (Ramgarh) who were seeking death and whose only aim was to lay down their lives for their Guru. When they saw the Shah and his troops they fearlessly came out of the fort to sacrifice their lives in the cause of religion. They were only thirty in number, and quite unmindful of the consequences, did not care at all for death. They grappled with the *ghazis* and were all killed. The Muslims galloped right and left but came across no more Sikhs. The Durrani destroyed their buildings and then returned to Lahore.[1]

3. Ahmad Shah's march to Batala.

Ahmad Shah Durrani who felt exasperated at not getting an opportunity to fight with the Sikhs in a pitched battle on account of their flight called a council of war and discussed his future plan of action. Eventually it was decided that they should march towards Sirhind. Ahmad Shah decided to detour through the Upper Bari and Jullundur Doabs, because this part of the country was the home of the Sikhs. Besides destroying the Sikh homes and crops, his troops were looking forward to marching through a rich and fertile tract in order to feed themselves well. They travelled by easy marches covering about four miles a day and reached Batala (56 miles north of Lahore) in fifteen days. By Ahmad Shah's permission his troops laid waste the whole country and in their ravages made no distinction between the Sikhs and non-Sikhs. This tract called Riyarki abounded in sugar, sugar-cane and dry sesame. These articles together with

[1] Jang Namah, 106-107.

beef appeared to them as celestial dishes which they enjoyed to their heart's content.[1]

4. The Battle of the Jullundur Doab.

The Afghans then crossed the Beas[2] and entered the Jullundur Doab, where the people had been so much terrified that they ran either to the hills in the north or to the desert country south of the Sutlej. Some of them took shelter in the midst of the thick vegetation along the marshy banks of the rivers or in the caves and dens of Dholbaha. They left their goods and property behind, but saved their women and children from slavery.

One day the Sikhs suddenly appeared before the Afghans. Their heads were full of pride and hearts bent on revenge. No sooner did they come than they checked the progress of the advance-guard. "Its commander at once reported to the Shah that the hideous-faced, polluted, filthy and hog-natured dogs of ugly disposition had arrived."

On that day Sardar Jahan Khan took the command of the army because he was aware of the Sikhs and their tricks, having fought with them many a time before. He stuck fast to his place and did not move an inch. He was waiting for reintorcements. "The wretched (Sikhs)

[1] Jang Namah, actual folio 108 ; but in the ms. wrongly indicated as 109. Also 110-111. Ahmad Shah, 493. Ali-ud-din, 18a.

[2] Qazi Nur Muhammad seems so much absorbed in eating beef, sugar and sesame that he forgets even to mention where and how they crossed the Beas. He describes this battle which took place in the Jullundur Doab because the further description reveals that they reached the Sutlej on the third day.

galloped in the field and created a havoc. They held match-locks and burning wicks in their hands and shot at our horsemen. (They) ran in the battle-field sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left."[1]

Nur Muhammad then describes in his characteristic way the hand to hand fight which took place there.

5. Ahmad Shah advances to Kunjpura *via* Pinjor.

The day's battle being over, the Afghans continued their march and on the third day reached the Sutlej, which they crossed probably at Ropar Ghat. When the baggage train was carried across the river they were attacked by the Sikhs; but the Shah's orders were so strict that everybody stood his ground firmly and after a few hours the Sikhs retired disappointed, without being able to seize anything. The Abdali halted on the other bank of the Sutlej for the night, and early next morning made straight for Pinjor. At this place he enjoyed tiger hunt in the Morni hills, a famous hunting ground. Leisurely travelling he arrived at Garhi Kotaha and by easy marches reached Kunjpura in two months' time never travelling more than six miles a day.[2]

6. Plans to crush the Sikhs dropped.

Ahmad Shah had arrived at Kunjpura by the end of February. There he halted for some days and discussed

[1] Jang Namah, 111-112.

[2] Jang Namah, 117-124.

It gives us a clear idea that Ahmad Shah is not punishing the Sikhs but he is evidently enjoying a holiday. Whenever the Sikhs appear to fight him, he never takes the offensive but always remains on the defensive. He seems to have been so much terrified by the Sikhs that he is not passing right across the Sikh territories but is only skirting the foot of the hills.

8. Beginning of the pitched battles of the Sikhs, c. March 1765.

In the previous pages we have seen that the Sikhs in their fights either with the Mughal viceroys of Lahore or with Ahmad Shah Durrani had always resorted to guerilla tactics. They seem hitherto not to have considered themselves equal to their enemies and thus avoided a pitched action. Their constant successes during the past two years, however, gave them unbounded enthusiasm, and now they seem to have decided upon fighting pitched battles with their enemies. On the return journey of Ahmad Shah the Buddha Dal, having come back from Delhi, had joined the Taruna Dal and thus they had absolutely no fear from Ahmad Shah Abdali in having a pitched action with him. In such engagements they adopted the regular organization of their troops into centre, right wing and left wing, as is quite clear from Nur Muhammad's account,

9. The battle of the Sutlej.

Having stayed at Sirhind for a few days, Ahmad Shah marched back homeward and crossed the Sutlej, probably again at Ropar.[1] One morning, when they had hardly gone one kos from the other bank of the river, their advance-guard was attacked by the Sikhs. The Afghans immediately got ready to fight. Ahmad Shah was in the centre ; Shah Vali Khan, Jahan Khan, Shah Pasand Khan, Anzala Khan and others, with 12,000 troops were on the right ; while Nasir Khan, at the head of 12,000 Baluchs was on the left. The Sikhs also organized themselves in a regular battle array. " In the centre was Jassa (Singh)

[1] Karam Singh, 242.

Kalal, who fearlessly stood like a mountain. Close by him was the other Jassa (Singh) Thokah, looking like a lion in stature. Besides, there were many other Sikh chiefs who stood at their proper places in the centre. On the right was Charat Singh, who may be called the dishonoured Chartu. Jhanda (Singh), Lahna (Singh) and Jai Singh were also with hlm. Hari Singh Bhangi, Ram Das, Gulab (Singh) and Gujar (Singh) were on the left."[1]

Ahmad Shah issued strict injunctions to his chiefs not to advance at all from their places. The battle raged furiously and the Sikhs overpowered the right flank. The Durrani then summoned Nasir Khan and said to him :— " The Sikhs have nearly subdued the right wing, because the heroes pursued the Sikhs and went far ahead. This side, therefore, has fallen empty, and the Sikhs have occupied it on having come back. You see that they are growing stronger there. These infidels are showering arrows and bullets like the Tartars. They attack now to the right and then to the left and I am very much struck with their boldness. You go to that side and press them hard. But remember not to advance from your place. The enemy will come to you of their own accord and you must not go to them."

Nasir Khan then went to the right wing, but no sooner had he reached there than he was vehemently attacked by Charat Singh.[2] The Baluch chief stuck fast

[1] Jang Namah, 147. Nur Muhammad's account makes it quite clear that the Bhangi Misl was the most powerful confederacy at this time. Out of 9 leaders mentioned by him, 5 belonged to the Bhangi Misl.

[2] At this point one leaf from the original ms., bearing pages 153-54 is missing and therefore it cannot be said how Charat Singh fought with Nasir Khan.

to his ground. The Sikhs having failed in breaking the lines of the Afghans adopted their old stratagem and fled from the field. Nasir Khan was easily taken in and he ran in pursuit of them. The Sikhs, finding the Khan away from the main body, suddenly called a halt, turned back and fell upon him like a bird of prey. The Afghans alighted from their horses, struggled hard for their lives and after hours of stiff resistance, managed to reach their main body.[1] Just at this time they were again attacked by a fresh detachment of the Sikhs. A fierce struggle ensued which went on till late at night, when both the parties retired for rest.

10. Second day's fight with the Sikhs.

Next morning the Afghans marched onward with the sun-rise ; but they had gone only three miles, when the Sikhs came in sight. They attached the Afghans on three sides—front, right and left.[2] This day they reversed their order, and the right wing became the left and the left went to the right. Their number also was larger than that of the previous day. The Durrani called a halt immediately and organized his troops in the previous day's order. When the Afghans got ready to assault, the Sikhs suddenly fled and disappeared from sight. When the Afghans were ready to march, the Sikhs were seen in their rear. This caused a great annoyance to Ahmad Shah who addressed his troops thus :—"Nobody should go ahead and none should move from his place. Wait, the devilish foe will itself come to you. Do not step outside your ranks, but stick to your places like the Caucasus

[1] Jang Namah, 148-158.

[2] Ibid, 178. Their ignoring the rear indicates that the Sikhs now thought it cowardly to attack from behind.

Mountain. When you find that the Dogs have approached you, fall on their heads." The fight then raged for some time and many Sikhs lost their lives.[1]

11. Third day's fight with the Sikhs.

On the third day with the sun-rise all the Afghans got on horse-back and marched forward. "They had advanced only six miles when the black Dogs appeared before them as they had done the previous day. They fought as they had done yesterday, adopted the same old tricks and disappeared by the same way they had come.[2] They came like a lion and went away like a fox. These wretches came into the field every day as they had done on the first day. These mad infidels did the same and went off ; they did not flee but delayed fighting. They felt no disgrace in fleeing, and did not fight in the field. They came and discharged their guns from a distance and then fled away from the fighting ground. They came and immediately withdrew and thus possessed no modesty in their heart and no shame in their eyes. Of course, modesty is due to faith which only a Muslim commands, and these infidel Dogs, the thread-wearers, could not be expected to have any *iman*. In short, these Dogs fought in a similar manner for seven days. Whenever the world-conquering king mounted, these thread-wearing idolators appeared and the damned Dogs constantly followed the troops of the king of the Faith, and when the Faith-protecting king halted these black-faced Dogs fought with him."[3]

[1] Jang Namah, 178-81,

[2] This battle probably took place at Nur Mahal, 16 miles south of Jullundur. (Cf. Shamshir Khalsa, 120).

[3] Jang Namah, 182-83. (One of these battles was fought near Kapurthala in which the Durranis sustained a heavy loss in men and beasts. Khushwaqt Rai, 96).

12. The battle of the Beas.

On the seventh day they started on their onward march at day-break and soon arrived at the ghat of the Beas. The Shah stood on the bank and ordered that all the loaded camels whether loaded with gold or with wood, the shopkeepers, craftsmen, merchants, traders, householders, women, children, boys, bullocks and donkeys should be conveyed first across the river. When all had crossed over, the Shah himself came to the edge of the water. Just at this moment he was informed that the wretched Dogs—the brave warriors—fully armed and numbering about 30,000 were waiting on the southern bank of the river for the fight.[1]

The Shah as usual ordered each captain to take his respective position at the head of his armed retainers. Much time had not passed when the Dogs, according to their old practice, created a tumult on each side and commenced fighting. When the Muslims saw the wretched ones making angry onslaughts on all sides, the Khan, first of all, pushed his horse in the midst of their ranks. The evil-natured Dogs fled before the lions and threw the dust of insult on their heads. The Dogs went on running for six miles. In the meanwhile the Khans, Afghans, amirs and wazirs gave them a hot pursuit and the Dogs ultimately retired from the battle-field. Many of them were slain in the course of their flight. When all the pig-eating, wretched Dogs were lost to view by the faithful ones, they returned from the field and stood on the edge of the flowing water.

The entire camp crossed over the river safely. Then

[1] Ibid. 183-84.

the Shah went to the other side of the water, and last of all came the Baluches, group by group. "This was the last battle of the Dogs and this was their last day of fighting. Their cunning and tricks availed them nothing, because they were sad and disappointed. This was the second river of the Doab by which name it is known all the world over. The Faith-protecting king in all his grandeur glory and victory marched from this place and after some stages arrived on the Ravi, and crossing over it with all the troops and baggage he came to the river Chenab by easy marches."[1]

13. AHMAD SHAH LEAVES INDIA, c. END OF MARCH 1765.

On crossing the Chenab where Ahmad Shah sustained very heavy losses, he encamped on the opposite side and despatched Jahan Khan in advance to arrange for a bridge of boats on the Jhelum. From here the Shah travelled leisurely covering about six miles every day and thus allowed the troops to have a good rest. The Jhelum was safely crossed in two days by a bridge of boats and they encamped in the fort of Rohtas. Here the Shah thanked Nasir Khan for his valuable assistance and granted him the territory of Quetta at his request, besides many other favours which the Khan gratefully accepted. Ahmad Shah then generously offered him the adjoining territories of Derahs, Multan and Jhang, the whole country westward of the Chenab, but the Khan

[1] Jang Namah, 183-86.

It seems probable that the Sikhs left Ahmad Shah in view of the Baisakhi festival which was to take place of the 10th April 1765.

in complete agreement with his counsellors respectfully declined to accept this gift.[1]

From here the Durrani went to Kabul via Attock and Peshawar, while Nasir Khan crossed the Indus by a bridge of boats prepared by Ismail Khan near Dera Ismail Khan and passing through Dera Ghazi Khan reached Kalat.[2]

14. Possessions of the Sikh Chiefs.

Besides the details of the campaign, Nur Muhammad gives us an account of the Sikh possessions in the Punjab. "Chiniot is in the jagir of Jhanda (Singh). That black-faced Dog is most luminous there. The country of the Chathhas and the whole territory of Jhang are under Hari Singh Bhangi. Karam Singh holds Wirpal (Salt Mines according to Ratan Singh, 496), while Parol is commanded by the wretched Jai Singh. Jassa (Singh) Kalal[3] rules over Kalanaur. This malevolent person governs Doab (Jullundur) also. Jullundur is under Jassa (Singh) Carpenter (Kalal). Both of these Jassas work in collaboration with each other and hold the country of Batala in common.[4] Their banners and kettledrums are the

[1] Very interesting details of the Abdali's crossing the Chenab are given by Nur Muhammad on folios 186-90. Jang Namah, 194.

[2] Jang Namah, 190-210.

(On taking leave of the Khan, Qazi Nur Muhammad, son of Qazi Abdullah alias Kalwar, resident of Ganjaba, compiled the account of the invasion the same year in 1178 A. H. (1765 A. D.) and presented it to Nasir Khan. Ibid, 219-25).

[3] It was Jassa Singh Ramgarhia.

[4] Evidently wrong. Nur Muhammad at the time of compiling his book at home must have wrongly arranged and read his rough

same. Gujar Singh and Lahna (Singh) possess Waniki and derive their income from there. Aughar Singh and Sanwal Singh's jagirs extend as far as the village of the Sayyids (Pindi Sayyidan). The territory of Chamyari also belongs to them. Both the Dogs have grown rich there. Suba (Singh)'s possessions extend up to the bank of the river. Wasawa (Singh) is his friend and holds Adinanagar, the name of which is so well known. The territory of these Dogs spreads even beyond Eminabad upto the bank of the river (Chenab). Chartu (Charat Singh Sukarchakia) holds Rohtas in his jagir and this has grown into a city by his efforts. Natha (Singh) rules over Dipalpur which is situated in the centre of his territory.

"Jassa (Singh)'s brother and Karam Singh are partners with him. Besides, there are many others of these Dogs who are famous and they hold other territories in their jagir. From Sirhind to Lahore, Multan and even Derajat, the whole country has been divided by these wretched Dogs among themselves. They enjoy it and fear nobody."[1]

notes taken in the journey. Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and Jai Singh Kanhaya worked together and held Batala territory in common.

[1] Jang Namah, 176-78. (Though the grey-bearded Qazi calls the Sikhs by so many contemptuous epithets, yet he devotes one full chapter of his book to describing their valour and nobility of character, the translation of which is given in the "Conclusion". Infra, 310).

CHAPTER XIII.

ASSUMPTION OF SOVEREIGNTY.

April—September 1765.

1. THE SIKHS TAKE LAHORE AND ISSUE COINS, 16TH MAY 1765.

On giving up the pursuit of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Sikhs retired to Amritsar to celebrate the Baisakhi festival which was to fall on the 10th April. In the recent Durrani campaign the Sikhs had the upper hand uniformly in their battles with the invader, and they were now convinced that either Ahmad Shah would not venture on any other invasion or that he would leave them undisturbed in their possessions. In case he waged war with them they were prepared to meet him on more than an equal footing and to assert themselves at any cost. This consciousness of their superiority now made them openly declare their independence and assume the sovereign power. They rebuilt and repaired the tank, the temple and other buildings and spent large sums of money for this purpose. Regular Granthis were appointed to read out the *Granth* daily. "Six of the twelve Misls into which the commonwealth was divided, appointed their representatives in the temple, founded an establishment, and renewed several religious services which have come down to the present time.[1]

The Sikhs spent about a month in festivities and thanksgiving and then resolved to regain possession of their old territories and acquire new ones wherever possible.

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[1] Buti Shah, 15a. History of Hari Mandir, 8.

On the dispersal of the Sikhs to their respective territories, Lahna Singh and Gujar Singh, both of the Bhangi Misl, came to their head-quarters at Ranghruini near Lahore. To them it was disagreeable to find the capital of the Punjab in the hands of the Governor of Ahmad Shah, and the more so because it was in the close neighbourhood of their religious capital, Amritsar. At this time Kabuli Mal was away in the train of his master, and his nephew Amir Singh, an experienced young man, was officiating for his uncle. Taking advantage of this opportunity they encamped one night at Baghbanpura at the head of 2,000 troops and opened negotiations with the Purabias employed in the fort. These, however, declined to play the part of traitors. After this the Sikh sardars managed to win over Naqra Jat, Mehar Sultan, Ghulam Rasul, Ashraf, Chunnun and Baqar, the Arains of Baghbanpura who worked as gardeners in the fort. They undertook to lead the Sikhs into the fort by breaking in a hole in the wall of the fort at a place where there was not much danger of causing alarm.

Gujar Singh was the first to enter the fort with 50 chosen followers.[1] Then as the prearranged signal for summoning Lahna Singh, he set the wooden pavilion of Ahmad Shah on fire. Lahna Singh, soon followed Gujar Singh, Amir Singh was taken prisoner[2] and detained in Mozang, and then the fort of Lahore came into the Sikh hands without much resistance. Early next morning Sobha Singh of Niazbeg joined the Bhangi chiefs at the

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[1] Punjab Chiefs, i. 338 states that Gujar Singh entered the fort through a drain.

[2] Sohan Lal, i. 163 observes that Amir Singh was arrested when he was busy enjoying the performances of his dancing-girls.

head of 200 soldiers, and put up in the mansion of Meghraj Khatri, nephew of Diwan Lakhpat Rai. The troops of the three chiefs on entering the city began to plunder. The zamindars of the neighbouring villages also began to sack it. Chaudhari Rupa, Lala Bishan Singh and Maharaj Singh, the grandsons of Diwan Surat Singh, Mir Nathu Shah, Hafiz Qadir Bakhsh and Mian Muhammad Ashiq and other grandees of the city led a deputation into the fort and in the course of an interview with sardars Gujar Singh and Lahna Singh, said, "This city is called the Guru's cradle.[1] If you look after it, you will also prosper, but if you ruin and destroy it, you too will derive no profit and advantage."

The sardars accordingly shut all the city gates and issued a proclamation that whosoever would oppress the subjects must be punished. After that both the sardars rode into the town with sticks in their hands and beat out each plunderer whom they found in any street. Then they offered one-third of the city to Sobha Singh and sought his co-operation in protecting the town. In short, the three chiefs spared no pains in giving peace to the people and busied themselves wholeheartedly in the duties of administration.[2]

The three sardars then parcelled out the city and its neighbourhood among themselves. The southern part of Lahore as far as Niazbeg, eight miles from the city on the bank of the Ravi, including Mozang, Kot Abdullah Shah, Ichhra, and Chauburji fell to the share of Sobha Singh who had his stronghold in the garden of Zebinda

[1] The fourth Guru Ramdas, the ancestor of all the succeeding Gurus, was born and brought up in Lahore.

[2] Ali-ud-din, 128b-129b; cf. Sohan Lal, i. 163-64.

Begam (Zeb-ul-nisa, the accomplished and talented daughter of Aurangzeb) which he turned into a fort known as Nawakot. It was situated between Lahore and Niazbeg on the main road leading to Multan. Gujar Singh was allotted the eastern part of the city from Kabulimal's mansion to the Shalamar Garden, in the centre of which he built an unwalled fort which was called Qila Gujar Singh and the site is still known by the same name. Lahna Singh obtained the central part of the city including the fort with the Roshnai, Kashmiri, Khizri and Masti Gates.[1]

No sooner did Charat Singh Sukarchakia hear of the fall of Lahore than he came to the city and demanded a share in the spoil. The three sardars did not like to make such a powerful chief their enemy, and with a view to outwitting him, very willingly offered him the Zamzama gun which was then lying on the Shahburj in the west of Lahore. They asserted that it was the best part of the spoil, believing that he would be unable to carry it away for lack of bullocks. Charat Singh, however, finding that he could not get anything more, called his troops numbering 2,000 and dragged it first to his camp and then across the Ravi to his fort of Gujranwala.[2]

As a mark of the assumption of the sovereignty of the province and in memory of Guru Nanak who founded Sikhism and of Guru Gobind Singh who established the Khalsa brotherhood, they struck in Lahore, Sikh rupees, which came to be called "Gobindshahi" not "Nanakshahi" as Griffin states. The latter term came into use afterwards.

[1] Sohan Lal, i. 163; Khushwaqt Rai, 129.

[2] Sohan Lal, ii. 12; Buti Shah, 309a-b.

and Jalalabad, Vairowal and Kot Muhammad Khan in Taran Taran parganah were acquired and held by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

Mattewal on the Gurdaspur border was held by Jassa Singh Ramgarhia.

Gilwali in Amritsar parganah, and Thoba and Panjgharian in Saurian parganah formed part of the estate of Jai Singh Kanhaya.

Taran Taran belonged to the Bhangis, Khaparkheri to the Singhpurias, Saurian, Jagdev, Ghonewala and Karial to Jodh Singh, Chhinah to Karm Singh, Bhangi and Sainsra to Diwan Singh.[1]

(ii). *Rechna Doab.*

Charat Singh Sukarchakia conquered a good portion of this Doab. He placed Wazirabad under the command of Gurbakhsh Singh Waraich, while other parts of the present Hafizabad, Sheikhupura and Naushahra parganahs were given over to Sardar Bhag Singh Virak. In the western part of the modern Gujranwala district the Bhattis and Tarar Jats maintainted a sturdy independence, while in the parganah of Ramnagar, Ghulam Muhammad of the Chattha tribe, a Jat clan, but claiming Rajput origin, raised himself to a position of power. He was involved in frequent wars with Charat Singh Sukarchakia, in which, in spite of the growing power and fame of the latter, he firmly held his own.[2]

Manna Singh, a follower of Charat Singh, fought with his master against the Chatthas and received a service jagir of Rs. 4,000.

[1] Gujranwala Gazetteer, 15-16.

[2] Amritsar Gazetteer, 1892-93, 21-22.

Dhanna Singh was an associate of Sardar Nodh Singh and after his death served under his son Charat Singh. He died in 1765, leaving two sons, Diwan Singh and Hira Singh, who followed the fortunes of the Sukarchakia chief. When Sardar Charat Singh took possession of a great part of Gujranwala district, they came in for a fair share of the spoil, receiving Batalah, Pahladpur, Kalsian and other villages.

Sahai Singh and Sahib Singh were brothers whose ancestors had been the chaudharis of about 30 villages in the modern Sheikhupura district for the past four generations. Both the brothers went to Amritsar, took pahal and became Sikhs. Being in possession of some wealth they had no difficulty in collecting a band of followers to ravage the neighbouring country. About this time they led an expedition against Sheikhupura, then possessed by the Labana tribe, which they easily captured and turned into their head-quarters. Their rivals the Kharrals allowed them no easy possession of this new acquisition.

Hari Singh Bhangi seized the estates of Kalawala, Allar, Panwana, Chak Ramdas, Chobara and many others in the Sialkot and Amritsar districts.[1]

Tara Singh, Sahib Singh and Jiwan Singh were the Bhangi chiefs, who on turning out the Afghan Governor seized the district of Sialkot and occupied the fort of Sialkot. The whole country yielded revenues worth Rs. 60,000 annually.

Karam Singh Bhangi, a Jat of the Gil tribe of Chhinah village about five miles from Raja Sansi in Amritsar

[1] Punjab Chiefs, 98, 151, 441, 368.

district took possession of Firozki, Kaleki, Rurki and Bajra in the Sialkot district besides holding Chhinah and the neighbouring villages.[1]

(iii). Chaj Doab.

Muqarrab Khan was a Gakhar chief of note who was supreme in the Chāj Doab from 1741 to 1765 and owed allegiance to Ahmad Shah Durrani. Sardar Gujar Singh Bhangi advanced from Lahore at the head of a large force to seize the possessions of the Gakhar chief. Sardar Charat Singh Sukarchakia joined him. Muqarrab Khan offered a vigorous resistance to the Sikh forces and being defeated[2] in the open he retired to the city of Gujrat, his capital, and shut himself up in the fort. He was immediately besieged and his supplies were absolutely cut off. Muqarrab Khan, however did not give himself up to despair and made a desperate sally, cutting his way through the Sikh investing lines. But encumbered with baggage and women he was overtaken shortly afterwards and his forces were surrounded and overpowered. Muqarrab Khan escaped on an elephant and was seen to descent on the animal's back into a deep and wide ravine. The elephant appeared on the farther side but its rider was not on its back. He was never seen again and his fate remains shrouded in mystery.[3] The Sikhs took possession of the city and sacked it thoroughly. They

[1] Khushwaqt Rai, 133-34; Buti Shah, 220b; Ganesh Das, 207. Punjab Chiefs, 373.

[2] Ganesh Das, 208.

[3] Griffin, however, says that Muqarrab Khan had succeeded in retiring across the Jhelum where he was taken prisoner by treachery by a rival chief named Himmat Khan of Domeli who put him to death. Punjab Chiefs, 580.

renewed the fortifications, strengthened the walls and Gujar Singh established his capital at this place. The whole district then fell without any further struggle into the hands of the conquerors and it was equally divided between the two Sikh sardars. Gujrat and the Waraich "taluka" fell to the share of Gujar Singh, while the parganah of Kunjah as far as the boundaries of Miani extending to the banks of the river Jhelum was occupied by Charat Singh.[1]

The whole of the Salt Range and its neighbouring territory fell to the share of Charat Singh, while the Bhangis took possession of the tract of the country between those hills and the Chenab nearly as far as Sahiwal. The territories of Midh and Musachuha as dependencies of Qadirabad were retained as their own share by Ganda Singh and Jhanda Singh, the leaders of the Bhangi Misl. Miani was assigned to Tara Singh Bhangi and Bhera with Ahmadabad fell to the lot of Man Singh.

The Muslim chieftains of Sahiwal, Mitha Tiwana and Khushab, though very much hard pressed, were able generally to resist the encroachments of their new neighbours, the Sikh sardars. South of the Jhelum, however, the Bhangis had succeeded in wresting from Muhammad Khan of Sahiwal the greater part of his possessions, thus possessing themselves of the whole Doab east of Shahpur; while to the west of that place as far as Nihang, the country owned the authority of the chief of Sahiwal. In

[1] Ganesh Das, 208-209; Khushwaqt Rai, 130-31; Ratan Chand, 36-38; Elliot's Gujrat Chronicle, 19-20; Gujrat Gazetteer, 16; Imperial Gazetteer of India, Punjab, ii. 112, 122, 162; Chiefs and Families of Note, ii. 320; Punjab Chiefs, 580.

Shahpur itself, however, a colony of Sayyids under Ghulam Shah established a semi-independent authority and this they were allowed to retain unmolested by their stronger Muslim neighbours owing to the reverence in which they were held as the descendants of a renowned saint. The remainder of the Doab, to the junction of the two rivers, was held by the Sial chiefs of Jhang, Izzat Bakhsh Rehan, a powerful zamindar of those parts.[1]

(iv). *Sind Sagar Doab.*

The Ghebas had settled in the wild and hilly country lying between the Indus and the Sohan rivers now known as the parganahs of Fatahjhang and Pindi Gheb. They had successfully held their own against their powerful neighbours, the Awans, the Ghakhars and Jodras till this time. Even the Afghan invaders had not subdued them because they were off the highway in a country difficult of access and they satisfied them by presenting a small tribute consisting of a horse or a few heads of cattle as the invader passed and thus secured his goodwill. Gujar Singh Bhangi could not make an impression on them in any remarkable degree. Charat Singh Sukarchakia overran the southern part of Rawalpindi and laid Rai Jalal under contribution, allowing him one-fourth (chaharam) of the revenues in view of his proprietary rights in the land. He, however, could not get much out of the hardy Ghebas and their supremacy over this tract was only nominal. The Sikh chiefs, however, persisted and succeeded in seizing a good portion of the Doab.[2]

[1] Shahpur Gazetteer, 17-18.

[2] Punjab Chiefs, 535-36. Jhelum Gazetteer, 45. A Marathi letter dated 19-12-1765 says that the Sikhs are predominant in Lahore and their administration as far as Sirhind is excellent. S. P. D. xxix. 102.

CHAPTER XIV.

SIKHS AND NAJIB-UD-DAULAH.
September 1765—May 1766.

1. SIKHS PLUNDER NAJIB'S COUNTRY, OCTOBER 1765.

The lightning-like activities of the Sikhs after territorial acquisition were brought to an end by the middle of July when the rains had set in and the rivers and streams on all sides were in flood and became impassable. The next two months, therefore, were spent in consolidating their holdings, and by the close of the rainy weather (September) they gathered together at Amritsar. They decided to invade the country of Najib-ud-daulah, Ahmad Shah's plenipotentiary and Dictator of Delhi.

They marched thither and after passing Sirhind divided into two bodies. The Taruna Dal crossed the Jumna at Buriya Ghat and entered Saharanpur district, while the Buddha Dal consisting of 25,000 horse under the leadership of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, and Tara Singh, Sham Singh, and other sardars attacked Najib's jagirs in the country north of Delhi.[1]

Najib with 10,000 soldiers was busy in reducing rebellious villages in the Bhiwani and Rohtak parganahs and had succeeded in impressing his power on the Narnol side. On hearing that the Sikhs were levying blackmail on his country, he advanced towards them and met the situation with such skill and persistence as was to be expected from the leading Muslim general of the time after Ahmad Shah Durrani. The Rajah of Bhatner and

[1] S. P. D. xxix, 99 and 102.

Amar Singh, grandson and successor of Alha Singh, also marched from their places to join Najib-ud-daulah against the Sikhs.[1]

Najib-ud-daulah himself wrote a letter to the Emperor Shah Alam II. then residing at Allahabad, on the 3rd November, 1765 and described the Sikh depredation and his own measures for defence thus:—" The infidels (Sikhs) having with all malevolence advanced as far as Panipat and Satalak, proposed proceeding directly to Shahjahanabad. But upon his sending forward his tent to Mahaldar Khan's garden and collecting a number of new and old troops. they perceived that they had not then an opportunity of putting their designs into execution. And so after ravaging and plundering the circumjacent viliages, they retreated. Their retreat was also due to the fact that the time for the celebration of the Chak[2] was near at hand. As they are under no apprehension of troubles from any quarter, they are determined to come this way after that festival. To the writer it appears to be a very difficult matter to punish them. It can be effected only by the blessing of God and His Majesty's auspices. As far as lies in his power, he will not be negligent in giving proofs of his fidelity and attachment. With this view he has assembled all his forces from the different districts, and having left the city, has encamped on the frontiers in order that the enemy may be struck with terror and also that his troops may all be together.[3]

[1] S. P. D. xxix. 99 and 102; Nur-ud-din, 100a; Sarkar, ii. 396.

[2] To celebrate at Amritsar the Diwali festival which fell on the 14th October.

[3] C. P. C. ii. 2735 A. Also cf. 2735, 2735C. and 2735D, all dated November 3, 1765.

2. The Battle between the Sikhs and Najib near Shamli, December 1765.

The Sikhs on the west side of the Jumna after ravaging a part of Najib's territory and the imperial dominion returned to Amritsar. Soon after the Diwali celebration they made for Delhi and commenced plundering Najib's villages. Najib-ud-daulah who had anticipated this irruption and had been making preparations, since their last departure from his country, marched to oppose their advance, and met them near Shamli, 12 miles east of Karnal.

Nur-ud-din, the biographer of Najib-ud-daulah, gives a vivid and graphic pen-picture of this battle which we reproduce here in a summary way. Every day there were many skirmishes between the two sides. One day a severe battle was fought. It raged the whole day. About four gharis after nightfall, the Sikhs took shelter in the neighbouring sugar-cane plantations and plied their matchlocks from there. From time to time they came out, and band after band emptied their matchlocks and went off. This kind of warfare continued till one pahar of the night, when the Sikhs retired to their place of rest.

The next morning Najib got up early and marched towards the Sikhs in an organized form. His right wing was under Sultan Khan, his full brother, left wing under Zabitah Khan, his son; vanguard under Karam Khan Razzar; rearguard in charge of Afzal Khan, his brother, while Zain Khan, the chief of his artillery, accompanied him with small guns. Najib had not gone far when the Sikhs surrounded them on all four sides and the fight began two gharis after dawn. The fire of battle raged till noon, when a dry 'nala' intervened in their path, and

certain loaded carts of Najib found it difficult to get over it. The Sikhs just at this moment came up running, and clashing with the division of Zabitah Khan in a mango garden, performed excellent barqandazi. Many men were wounded on the two sides, and the Sikhs wished to contrive things in such a way that by keeping the Rohilas engaged in fighting they would detain them from advancing for some time and utilise this delay in setting their own camp on the march and carry it towards the river. But Najib did not at all stop his advance, and, therefore, in the division of Zabitah Khan many men were slain.

The battle raged furiously till one pahar of the day still remained. The bank of the Jumna, where the Sikhs had placed their baggage train came also near. The Sikhs formed the plan of gaining a little respite by any means, so that their camp might cross the river with ease, and in that event their entire property and baggage would escape plunder. They fell upon the rear. Najib's soldiers being hard pressed asked him to permit them only once to attack the Sikhs at full gallop and repel them, otherwise the Rohilas would die silently under blows. Najib replied, "The halting place of the Sikhs is now very close. Have patience for a little while and we shall reach their camp and then much booty will fall into our hands. When their camp is once beaten up, they will not again spread through the country, and the plunderers who have joined them will be put to distress and return to their homes."

A severe scuffle ensued between the Sikhs and Najib's rear, in which the former gave a very hard time to the latter. Every time the Sikhs fell on the Rohilas with renewed vigour, making a very great noise and tumult,

shouting, "Wah Wah Guru!" Najib then himself came to the rescue of the rearguard with the zamburaks and his household squadron. The Sikhs, on seeing Najib's flag went to a greater distance and stood on a mound emptying their matchlocks. Najib-ud-daulah attacked them there and drove them away from the hillock. By this time night had approached. Najib stayed where he was standing while the Sikhs crossed the Jumna with all their baggage and camp in the darkness. In the morning not one horseman of them was left.[1]

3. The plunder of the Jat country, Rewari and Jaipur, January-February 1766.

After the battle of Shamli the Sikhs advanced towards Delhi. The Taruna Dal which had been busy in desolating the Saharanpur district crossed the Jumna, probably at Baghpat, 20 miles north of Delhi, and joined the Budha Dal in the neighbourhood of Kharkhauda, 20 miles east of Rohtak and one day's march from Delhi.

Najib-ud-daulah closely followed them and when they halted in the neighbourhood of Buwana he encamped at Sarai Sitaram. As Najib's men were on the alert and ready to offer battle, the Sikhs marched onward plundering and pillaging the country of Jat Rajah, a little south of Delhi.[2]

Jawahir Singh, the Jat Rajah of Bharatpur, was already hard pressed by the Marathas. He, therefore, could not bear the onslaught of the Sikhs. Consequently he sought for peace and opened negotiations with them through his vakil Ram Kishore Ahir. He paid them a

[1] Nur-ud-din, 100b-106a; cf. S. P. D. xxix. 102, dated 19th December 1765.

[2] S. P. D. xxix. 102. Nur-ud-din, 106b.

subsidy of 7 lakhs of Rupees in order to bring their marauding activities to an end, and hired a body of 25,000 of their horse to fight the Marathas on his side. Jassa Singh, Tara Singh, Sham Singh and two other sardars remained here, while the others spread over the country of Najib-ud-daulah and again began to desolate villages in the Mian Doab. Najib pursued them as far as the Sonipat district and then they retired towards their homes.[1]

Jawahir Singh and the Sikhs concerted a plan of action and it seems to have been decided to divert the concentration of the Maratha forces from the Jat kingdom's frontiers by attacking their ally Raja Madho Singh of Jaipur. The Sikhs consequently marched thither and decided to plunder the rich town of Rewari on their way. Below we give the interesting account of the plunder of Rewari in the words of Nur-ud-din :—"The Sikhs, by forced marches at night made a raid 42 kos from their place, upon the town of Rewari, 30 kos from Delhi, and close to Mewat. They plundered and burnt it and took prisoners (for ransom). This town had been flourishing for a long time past and was included in the

[1] S. P. D. xxix. 177, 121 and 197. Wendel, a contemporary historian, writes :—"His own country is the prey of the enemy (Marathas) who followed him close and he must either make an inglorious peace or risk all his fortune in a new war Obstinately he has chosen the latter course, taken at a vast expense a corps of 20-25,000 Sikhs who had at that time come to his own country to ravage it;—blind obstinacy of the Rajah ! He has been previously obliged to pay an advance of seven lakh rupees to these barbarous allies for desolating two of his entire provinces, the expedition will end in his openly falling out with them ; and he will at last have the Sikhs as well as the Rajputs on his hands. Thus his father's treasures are taking wing !" History of the Jats, 106b.

jagir of Rajah Nagar Mal Khatri, a high civil officer of the Emperor. The amil of the place on behalf of Rajah Nagar Mal was totally off his guard ; he now shut himself up in a mansion, and with a few hundred foot-soldiers that he had, fought all the day, and at night, by reason of his knowledge of the country, effected his escape from it (though) in utter ruin, and went to the territory of the Jat Rajah where Nagar Mal himself was. The ryots of Rewari were plundered to the extreme ; only the people who reached Gokulgarh (a fortalice) constructed by the zamindar of that place, and standing half a kos from Rewari, remained safe.[1]

The Sikhs then entered the territory of Raja Madho Singh of Jaipur, and joined by Jawhir Singh's forces began to loot the villages and towns unopposed, and sacked Kot Putli. Dulerai (the *Bakhshi*) and Jai Chand (the *Khan-i-saman*) were away from Jaipur to lay siege to the fort of Kanaud held by Ratan Singh Khangarot, a rebel chief against Jaipur. The Sikhs encamped seven or eight kos distant. The Sikh forces were everwhelming and Madho Singh in utter helplessness appealed for Maratha help on promising a daily allowance of Rs. 5,000 by way of expenses. Sindhia's contingent was at once despatched against Jawahir Singh, while the Sikhs were bought off by the Jaipur Rajah. Jawahir Singh patched up a truce with Madho Singh and returned to his country taking the Sikhs with him.[2]

4. The Sikhs fight Marathas near Dholpur, 13-14 March 1766.

The Marathas under Malhar with their camp at

[1] Nur-ud-din, 106b-107 and S. P. D. xxix, 121.

[2] Khushwaqt Rai, 104, S. P. D. xxix. 99, 102, 121, 127, 197.

Dholpur were carrying on frequent lightning raids into the Jat territory, while on the other hand the Sikhs were growing refractory for want of payment and they also began to lay waste that country. Jawahir Singh could not do without their help and conciliated the Sikhs numbering 7 to 8,000 whom he had been keeping in his pay. Then leaving his camp in Shahgarh, Jawahir Singh with a light force and some guns marched to fight the Marathas and engaged them at a distance of 7-8 kos from Dholpur, on the 13th and 14th March. First the Sikhs advanced and the Marathas defeated them killing 50 to 100 of their body. The Sikhs turning back came close to Jawahir, and the exultant Marathas chased them "thinking the enemy had fled." This brought them within the range of the fire of the Jat guns while the Sikhs arranged themselves on the flanks of the Jat army and they advanced in a body firing. The Marathas, seeing their folly in being so easily taken in by the cunning trick of the wily Sikhs, began to retreat towards evening. Just at this juncture the Sikhs and Jats delivered an assault. Many of the Maratha troops lost their lives while several hundreds of their horses were captured in the ravines of the Chambal. The Maratha generals, being defeated, took shelter in Dholpur. Sultanji, a prominent Maratha chief was taken captive while lying wounded in the battle-field. Jawahir Singh followed up his victory, seized Dholpur and captured all the Maratha generals.[1]

5. THE SIKHS PLUNDER THE COUNTRY OF NAJIB BUT ARE DEFEATED BY HIM, 16—20 APRIL, 1766.

After the defeat of the Marathas at Dholpur Jawahir Singh wanted to advance upon Malhar Rao Holkar, then

[1] S. P. D. xxix. 126, 127.

a dying man and lying encamped beyond the Chambal. He would have probably defeated him had not his Sikh allies absolutely refused to march to a grassless and waterless tract under the oppressive heat of the burning sun. The Sikhs consequently marched back to their country. Jawahir Singh accompanied them up to Sarai Khwajah and made them cross his frontiers at Ghat Tilpat, and then himself went back to Palwal. His coming back was solely for the sake of defending his own realm against the depredations of the retreating Sikh troops. He had the Sikhs in front, on one side the Gosains, on the other side Samru and Monsieur Rene Madec and others, and himself in the rear of his army, and some generals were posted in front of the Sikhs. He thus placed them in the centre, and in this arrangement took them out of his realm. Then they approached Delhi and began to loot Najib's jagir. At their approach near the imperial capital, Afzal Khan, the Delhi agent of Najib-ud-daulah, proclaimed on the 15th April by beat of drum that none from the city should go out to visit Kalka Devi. Next day early in the morning he began to strengthen the city defences and despatched scouts to bring intelligence about the enemy's movements. He himself along with Yaqub Ali Khan took up his position at the Delhi Gate of the city. On the 17th April it was learnt that the Sikhs, marching from Okhlaghat had looted rice and moist sugar in the Patparganj mart and lay encamped at Masuri. Some of the Sikh horsemen advanced up to the Bain of Shaikh Muhammad and plundered some camels and bullocks. They were attacked by Afzal Khan's horsemen who cut off the head of one Sikh while the rest took to flight.[1]

[1] Delhi Chronicle, 207 ; Nur-ud-din, 108a.

The Sikhs then marched up the east bank of the Jumna and raided Kutana, Jhanjhana and Budhana. In the meanwhile Najib-ud-daulah had arrived near Delhi. On learning that the Sikhs were busy plundering, he said, " The Sikhs will now receive a good thrashing. They acquired much booty in (their) fight with Malhar Rao, and also got large sums from Jawahir Singh, so that they are heavily loaded. We ought to bar their path once more and do a splendid deed."

" Accordingly Najib crossed at Ghat Kutana by night, and learnt at dawn that the Sikhs were halting five kos from that place. Leaving his camp and baggage there, he set out after them. He had not gone two kos when the Sikhs came in sight and the fighting began. The Sikhs, ignorant of Najib's advance, had left their camp and gone out to plunder the villages (around). When the noise of riding and the roll of kettledrums reached them, every one of them in bewilderment hastened towards their camp. Najib also came up by rapid marching. The Sikhs advanced quickly. But the Rohilas arrived near their camp and the Sikhs were paralysed and could do nothing. Vast amounts of booty fell into the hands of Najib's men, including large numbers of camels, horses, and ponies laden with property and other good articles. Najib drove the Sikhs beating them, for ten miles to the neighbourhood of Kandhala (18 miles south east of Panipat). Many men were wounded. An arrow hit the notable Jamadar Sarbuland Khan Khanazad in the neck and it came out from the side of the throat ; but he remained alive. Many of the Sikhs were slain. After a long time a vast amount of spoils came from the hands of the Sikhs into the hands of the Rohila

army. In the end the Sikhs crossed the Jumna and went away towards the places near their own administration."[1]

The Sikhs again fell plundering the districts of Najib-ud-daulah, on this side of the Jumna. Najib gave them a hot pursuit, but he was very much hard pressed by them. In these engagements Amar Singh of Patiala had given considerable assistance to Najib-ud-daulah against the Sikhs. The Sikhs, therefore, disturbed that Rajah, fought with him and caused him great annoyance.[2]

[1] Nur-ud-din, 108b-109b; Delhi Chronicle, 208. (The news of this fight reached Delhi on the 22nd April).

[2] S. P. D. xxix. 143, 133.

CHAPTER XV.

TRIUMPHANT EMERGENCE OF THE SIKHS,
June 1766—December 1768.

1. THE SIKHS CONSOLIDATE AND EXTEND THEIR HOLDINGS, JUNE—DECEMBER 1766.

Having returned to their places after the expedition into the country across the Jumna, the Sikhs enjoyed a short span of respite and seem to have spent their time in consolidating their holdings. Two important expeditions are recorded about this time. One was led by Hira Singh Nakai against Pakpattan, and the other by Bhangi sardars against Multan. Hira Singh first secured alliance with the Hans, an important Muslim tribe which was rising into power in the modern Montgomery district under their famous leader Muhmmad Azim. The Diwan of Pakpattan was supported by the Wattu tribe. A battle was fought at a place called Bhuman Shah or Kuttewala on the old Sohag. The Sikhs and Hans, who were probably in small numbers, were beaten and many of them drowned in the river. Hira Singh was killed and was succeeded by his son Nahar Singh, who suspended hostilities for the time being. Then advanced the Bhangi Sikhs under their renowned leaders Jhanda Singh and Ganda Singh in the same direction. They easily overpowered Muhmmad Azim Hans, seized upon his country and captured Pakpattan. Then they marched upon Multan and after an indecisive conflict, Pakpattan was agreed upon as the boundary line between the Sikh and the Afghan States.[1]

[1] Montgomery Gazetteer, 31-32; Multan Gazetteer, 27.

2. Ahmad Shah Abdali invades India, December 1766.

The undaunted Ahmad Shah Durrani came to India once more in November 1766. He crossed the Indus at Attock early in December 1766. At Behgy (Taraki?) about 10 kos from Rohtas on the other bank of the Jhelum, he had a fight with the Sikhs. "Ballam Singh and other sardars who had thrown up several strongholds and stationed strong garrisons in that country, were posted there with 7,000 or 8,000 horse. The Musalman army charged them vigorously and caused a great slaughter, the Sikh chief being slain among the rest. A great number were taken prisoners and several drowned in the river Jhelum.[1]

Ahmad Shah's plan of action was this : He aimed at reaching Delhi as soon as possible without fighting the Sikhs, and wanted to punish them on his return journey. But unfortunately he was not destined to enjoy the sight of the imperial capital.

In his onward march from Rohtas, the Muslim potentates of the neighbourhood began to join the Afghan invader, and Shah Daulah of Gujrat arrived in his camp in the night of the 14th December.

[1] C. P. C. ii. 16A. We are fortunate in possessing minute details of this invasion of Ahmad Shah in the form of numerous letters and notes written by high officials and messengers who supplied the information of the progress of the Durrani to the British Government at Calcutta. The vakil of Mir Qasim, ex-Nawab of Behar and Bengal, waited upon the Durrani at Rohtas and probably sought assistance for his master against the English, though Shah Vali Khan, the prime minister of the Abdali, assured Lord Clive in a letter dated the 8th April 1767 that they had led the expedition "for the extirpation of the ill-fated Sikhs." Ibid, 12A. 284, 16A.

The advanced party of the Abdali crossed the Jhelum, and the Sikh sardars again, collecting the remains of the defeated party on the other side of the Jhelum, made another attempt but with equal ill success. The Durrani arrived at Sialkot and set out from there on the 10th December. He encamped at Ghuinki (8 miles south-west of Sailkot, on the road to Daska) and halted there for four days, and granted interviews to the zamindars of Aurangabad, Purseron, Gujrat and Sialkot. He levied a contribution of 1½ lakhs from them owing to several Sikhs being concealed in the neighbouring villages.[1]

Ahmad Shah left Ghuinki on the 15th December and stopped at Daska. There Pir Muhammad Nurak's son, waitied on the Shah but the other zamindars fled through fear. The Abdali troops pursued and brought them back prisoners.[2]

[1] Sa'adat Khan who had a very intimate knowledge of all the country was employed in all matters of business about the Shah's person. It was he who suggested to the Shah the levying of a contribution from the zamindars. The latter were therefore ordered to give muchalkas agreeing to apprehend and despoil with every degree of severity all persons carrying the marks of a Sikh They had accordingly engaged not to give protection to the Sikhs, and should a Sikh fall into their hands, to send him to the Shah to undergo condign punishment.

[2] Shah Vali Khan, the wazir, asked them the cause of their flight; they replied that it was not their intention to run away, that the troops under Nasir Khan had marched through their country, that as it was defenceless, they had left it, but that since the arrival of the Shah, their courage was revived. Sa'adat Khan represented to the Shah that if he put any of the zamindars to death, none would at any time afterwards come to him, and that it would be prudent therefore to quiet their apprehensions and dismiss them. In consequence of this advice Pir Muhammad and

The Abdali stayed at Daska for two days and then marched to Eminabad. On the 21st, he continued his march and got as far as Fazilabad, which is about 12 kos from Eminabad and 6 kos on the other side of Lahore. Sobha Singh, Lahna Singh, Gujar Singh, Hira Singh, and Ajib Singh, who were in the city of Lahore with a body of 8,000 horse, on the approach of the Shah, abandoned the fort and town with precipitation. Gujar Singh and and Lahna Singh retired to Kasur, and Hira Singh, Ajib Singh and Sobha Singh fled over to Baba Farid. Jahan Khan, Barkhurdar Khan Arzbegi and Darwesh Ali Khan Hazarah passing over the river Ravi at Razi Ghat took possession of the city of Lahore.[1]

3. Ahmad Shah at Lahore.

Ahmad Shah reached Lahore on the 22nd December. Here a deputation of the city fathers waited upon him and told him that Lahna Singh was a good and sympathetic ruler. In spite of his power he made no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans. On the festivals of Id-uz-zuha he bestowed turbans on the qazis, the muftis and the Imams of mosques, and treated all the citizens with great regard. Ahmad Shah expressed his regret and clearly realising the fact that the less the Sikhs were thwarted the less troublesome they would be, he addressed Lahna Singh a letter offering him the governorship of Lahore together with a present of the dry fruits of Kabul. The latter sent Rahmatullah Beg of village Modah declining the invitation on the ground that in obeying him he would fall in the eyes of his co-religionists. Lahna

other zamindars had mercy shown them, and only three lakhs of rupees were levied from them.

[1] Ali-ud-din, 130a.

Singh returned his fruits also and sent him instead a quantity of an inferior kind of grain, stating that the fruits were the food of kings, while he lived on the grain, sent to him as a sample. Ahmad Shah stayed in Lahore for about a week, and having appointed Dadan Khan, brother of Maulvi Abdullah, with Rahmat Khan Rohila as assistant at the head of 1,500 horse and foot, marched towards Sirhind.[1]

"Jasant (Charat Singh), Jasah Singh the elder (Jassa Singh Kalal) and Hylah (Hira ?) Singh, with a body of 20,000 cavalry, were encamped at the village of Kalsah, about 35 kos from Lahore, and at the same distance from the Beas. Tara Singh and Khushal Singh with 6,000 horse were stationed at Taragarh, about 4 kos from Nichlah and 14 kos from the Shah's camp. Ahmad Shah gave orders for a body of horse with provisions for eight days to be ready to destroy the Sikhs. Leaving behind such men as were unfit for service, and all his heavy baggage, he advanced with a chosen body of 50,000 horse, the field pieces and 7,000 jizairs to [gap, a place], 12 kos on this side of Lahore. On the 27th December at the distance of about 4 kos beyond his camp, he detached Jahan Khan, Faiz Talab Khan, Barkhurdar Khan and Darwesh Ali Khan Hazarah, who took up their quarters at Chak. All the Sikhs who were there retired to a distance of 10 or 12 kos. On the 28th, the Shah fixed his quarters at Fatahabad.[2] He plundered it for about half an hour and killed a few Sikhs who were in the fort. The Sikhs

[1] Khuswaqt, 129. Ali-ud-din, 130a.

[2] Situated 20 miles south-east of Amritsar and 5 miles west of the Beas.

did not attack him, but always kept at a distance of 10 or 15 kos from him.[1]

Charat Singh, Lahna Singh and other Sikhs who were in the neighbourhood of Chak, determined to attack the Shah's baggage which was near Lahore. Accordingly they marched, and falling upon it plundered the merchants, sarrafs etc. The Shah's brother-in-law with the Shah's family and several officers with about 4,000 horse were in the city of Lahore. Finding that the Sikhs were very strong, the Shah's brother-in-law did not venture out, but wrote to the Shah saying that the Sikhs had plundered the baggage, they were coming against Lahore, and would besiege him and his family, and requested His Majesty to return to his assistance. As soon as the Shah received this 'Arzi' he marched back and encamped on the 1st January at Mahmud Tooly close to Lahore. Upon this the Sikhs retired about 15 kos. They kept about 15 or 20 kos from him and plundered all the baggage they could lay their hands on. The Sikhs constantly harassed Ahmad Shah and scornfully rejected all proposals of peace[2]

4. JAHAN KHAN IS DEFEATED AT AMRITSAR.

On the 17th January, Jahan Khan with a vanguard of about 15,000 horse marched, plundering the country as he went, to the neighbourhood of Chak, where Charat Singh, Hira Singh, Lahna Singh and Gujar Singh were assembled. When they heard of his approach, they met him and a warm engagement ensued for about three hours. Five or six thousand Durranis were killed and

[1] C. P. C. ii. 36, 108A.

[2] C. P. C. ii. 108A, ("This Raja of Chamba sent a vakil to the

wounded, and Jahan Khan was at last obliged to retreat. As soon as the Shah heard of this, he himself marched to Jahan Khan's assistance and fell upon the Sikhs who were in the end obliged to fly towards Lahore. Ahmad Shah, leaving his baggage near Jalalabad (on the Beas) pursued them. The Sikhs attacked the baggage; but Nasir Khan Baluch, who had the care of it, routed them and pursued them in their flight towards the jungles. Charat Singh, Gujar Singh, and four or five other sardars were at Chak and in the neighbouring forts with bodies of foot and artillery.[1]

5. The Durrani in the Jullundur Doab.

Ahmad Shah crossed the river Beas the same day

Sardars of the Sikhs, and Sa'adat Yar Khan of the family of Adina Beg sent them word that they should make peace with the Shah, since His Majesty had no intention of dispossessing them of their country, but was proceeding to Hindustan ; that he would introduce them to His Majesty and settle what country they should cede and what sums they should pay, and that he would put them in possession of Lahore. The Sikhs abused the vakil of the Raja of Chamba and drove him out of their army. They also wrote to Sa'adat Yar Khan refusing to make peace with the Shah." Ibid.

On the 15th January, Ahmad Shah Durrani was in the neighbourhood of Nur-ud-din Kot and wrote to Khumda (Jhanda) Singh, Jesa (Jassa) Sing Gulal (Kalal) and Khush-hal Singh, the chiefs of the Sikhs, to the effect that if they were desirous of entering his service, they should come and join him, but if they had any hostile intentions, they should meet him in the field. Charat Singh, Hira Singh and the other Sikh chiefs were at Chak with their forces. Two other Sikh chief were moving about Lahore, while small bodies of them were hovering all round the Shah's army at the distance of about 10 kos. (Ibid, ii. 50).

[1] C. P. C. ii. 65. The news of the defeat of Ahmad Shah's

(17th January) and on the 18th marched to Shiner Theley (Suhareewal, nearly 22 miles from the Beas?) and encamped there. Rao Megh Raj, vakil of Najib-ud-daulah; Sujan Rao, vakil of Mir Qasim; Lahori Mal, vakil of Jawahir Singh Jat and Bhim Singh, vakil of Raja Madho Singh came and paid their respects to the Shah. The vakil of Amar Singh and Himmat Singh, grandsons to Alha Singh, came and made his obeisance to Ahmad Shah and presented him on behalf of his masters with Rs. 5,000 and 2 horses as a *nazr*. To Shah Vali Khan and Jahan Khan he presented Rs. 2,000 each. The vakil of the son of Rao Kalha also came to the Shah. The Shah gave orders to all the vakils to write to their respective masters to come into the Presence.

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troops by the Sikhs was received with great delight by Lord Clive, the British Governor of Calcutta. A despatch written from Calcutta to the Nawab Wazir of Oudh dated 19th February in the original says :—"Has received his letter to Lord Clive with the papers of news enclosed. Is extremely glad to know that the Shah's progress has been impeded by the Sikhs. If they continue to cut off his supplies and plunder his baggage, he will be ruined without fighting; and then he will either return to his country or meet with shame and disgrace. As long as he does not defeat the Sikhs or come to terms with them, he cannot penetrate into India. And neither of these events seems probable since the Sikhs have adopted such effective tactics, and since they hate the Shah on account of his destruction of Chak." C. P. C. ii. 52.

Lord Clive, in another despatch, writing to Shah Vali Khan in response to his letter, flatters him and the Shah saying, "Praise be to God that through His Majesty's good fortune and the addressee's wise measures the perfidious Sikhs have met with the punishment due to their evil deeds; the fame of His Majesty's greatness has spread to the four corners of the world, and the people of God have been freed from the tyranny of the infidels." C. P. C. ii. 327.

Ahmad Shah then encamped at Nur Mahal (17 miles south of Jullundur), where he was joined by the zamindar of Patiala (Amar Singh) and other neighbouring zamindars who were coming to him and settling their payments through the mediation of Shah Vali Khan.[1]

The Abdali crossed the Sutlej and halted at Machhiwara, where he was again harassed by the Sikhs.[2]

6. AHMAD SHAH RETURNS HOMEWARD.

The Sikhs gave Ahmad Shah no rest. He pursued them in all directions, but to no purpose, as they always avoided an open engagement with him. They inflicted a great defeat upon Nasir Khan Baluch, and the Shah was so much displeased with him that he did not grant him an interview. Ahmad Shah, marching by way of Makri, Giddah, Patiala, and Banur, reached Ismailabad, 20 miles

[1] C. P. C. ii. 79 & 139. (About the weak position of Ahmad Shah one despatch says :—"The Shah's influence is confined merely to those tracts which are covered by his army. The zamindars appear in general so well affected to the Sikhs that it is usual with the latter to repair by night to the villages, where they find every refreshment. By day they retire from them and again fall to harassing the Shah's troops. If the Shah remains between the two rivers Beas and Sutlej, the Sikhs will continue to remain in the neighbourhood, but if he passes over towards Sirhind, the Sikhs will then become masters of the parts he leaves behind him." Ibid, 161A.

The British Governor again expressed his opinion that if the Sikhs were afforded a little assistance by the Jats and the Rohilas, it was probable that Ahmad Shah would suffer defeat and disgrace. Ibid, ii. 145.

[2] S. P. D. xxix. 165, dated 2. 2. 1767.

south of Ambala, where he was joined by Najib-ud-daulah on the 9th March.[1]

In view of the opposition of Najib to the Shah's intention of approaching towards Delhi[2] and the Sikh ravages in the rear, Ahmad Shah decided to return and to devote his energies to the punishing of the Sikhs. Consequently he set off backwards on the 17th March from Ismailabad. He encamped at Ambala on the 18th where he called upon Amar Singh to pay 9 lakhs, which sum had become due during his management of the Sirhind country.[3]

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[1] C. P. C. ii. 107C & D, 130A, 213, 214, 234, 254, 266, 415; Delhi Chronicle, 211; Nur-ud-din, 109b, 110a.

[2] "It is said that the Shah, on several of the vakils representing to him the good consequences of maintaining his situation, flew into a violent rage, declared that he would move forward immediately to Delhi, and expressed the greatest astonishment that not a single zamindar had made offers of a peshkash since his first setting on foot this expedition against the Sikhs. Najib-ud-daulah, on hearing this, had a private conference with Yaqub Ali Khan and Rao Meghraj, which lasted six hours. After it was over, he repaired to the presence and said, "If Your Majesty is resolved to march to Delhi, it is well, but beyond all doubt there will be a general flight of all the inhabitants wherever you pass, and the whole country will become a desert, as already is the case in many parts of it. I have now arrived in Your Majesty's presence and have attained the summit of my wishes, an interview. If Your Majesty actually proceeds (to Delhi), I have one request to make; that you would first sacrifice me and then pursue your intentions." C. P. C. ii. 294.

[3] C. P. C. ii. 310. (Najib-ud-daulah paid two lakhs of rupees on account of the stipulated money. The Shah presented him with a Turkish horse, appointing him at the same time to the supremacy of Hindustan, and Zabitah Khan to be the colleague of the Wazir Shah Vali Khan). Cf. also Delhi Chronicle, 211.

7. Amar Singh receives the title of Rajai Rajagan.

Ahmad Shah then reached Sirhind and showed Najib several favours on the way. Najib, finding the Shah so much inclined towards him, made a proposal to him for the grant of Sirhind territory to his son Zabita Khan but received no answer.[1] After some consideration Ahmad Shah agreed to it and Zabita Khan took possession of the fort of Sirhind. Amar Singh who owned this place was kept under surveillance by Najib-ud-daulah. The Nawab said to Amar Singh one day, " Raja ! your Patiala fort is of no consequence. I shall give you my Pathargarh fort of Najibabad which I have made so secure and strong." Amar Singh understood the hint that he would be taken to Najibabad as a prisoner. He lost all heart and despaired of his life. His grandmother Rani Fatto, widow of Alha Singh, a very wise and diplomatic woman, visited Wazir Shah Vali Khan in private, placed her *chadar* (head covering) at his feet and appealed for the release of Amar Singh from Najib.[2] She also offered him a costly *nazr* (gift). The Wazir persuaded the Shah to instal Amar Singh in the faujdari of Sirhind pointing out that he alone would be able to keep the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs out. Next morning the Shah summoned Amar Singh from the house of Najib-ud-daulah and granted him a robe of honour (khilaat), standard and kettledrums, the fish emblem and the subahdari of Sirhind accompanied by the superlative title of *Raja-i-Rajagan*.[3] Amar Singh

[1] C. P. C. ii 323.

[2] Husain Shahi, 85.

[3] Husain Shahi, 84-85 ; Khushwaqt Rai, 168. The author of the former further says :—" Since then to the present day which is

is credited by Khushwaqt Rai with having secured the release of a number of captives taken by the Afghans from India.

8. The Shah encamps on the Sutlej.

From Sirhind Ahmad Shah marched to Machhiwara Ghat on the bank of the Sutlej, where he organized several expeditions in pursuit of the Sikhs and stayed here for about a month and a half. He despatched his troops to punish the Sikhs who had taken refuge in places difficult of access.[1] Just then he got the news that a large body of them had concealed themselves in the hills of Mani-Majra, 40 miles east. The Durrani troops accompanied by Afzal Khan, the brother of Najib, fell on them and brought away many captives, men and women; but their leader was not captured. Much booty as well as captives was sold in the camp cheaply.[2]

1798 A. D., the coin of the Shah is current in the family of Amar Singh at Patiala. Whoever succeeds to the throne issues the same coin in his country and considers himself as subject of the Durrani Emperor. Amar Singh had engraved 'Amar Singh Bamizai' on his seal because Shah Vali Khan was a Bamizai Afghan." H. Shahi 86; also Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 17.

Cunningham, 113 wrongly states that on this occasion the title of Maharaja was conferred on Amar Singh.

Gyan Singh in "Raj Khalsa" p. 388.

[1] C. P. C. ii. 323, 345.

[2] Najib-ud-daulah himself writing to Shah Alam, the Mughal Emperor, from the Shah's camp says, "The Shah marched his army to Makhowal, which is the sanctuary and fortress of these infidels; and the chastisement of this unclean tribe was begun and still continues." C. P. C. ii. 415. Cf. also Nur-ud-din, 110b & C. P. C. ii. 310.

9. The Sikhs ravage Najib's country.

On the 11th May Ahmad Shah gave leave to Najib from the banks of the Sutlej in view of the bad state of his health. Just then the news arrived that the Sikhs, who a week ago had managed to give the slip to the Durrani troops in passing by their camp and had plundered the Sirhind country, had, leaving their families and effects in the jungle of Rohi, crossed the Jumna at Buriya Ghat and were ravaging Najib's territory, which lay utterly defenceless at that time. They had sacked Umbetah and then turned to Nanoutah on the 14th May. Subsequently they directed their attention to the Barha Sadat settlements in Muzaffarnagar. They then stormed Meerut.[1] Najib at once approached Ahmad Shah and sought his assistance against the Sikhs. The Durrani at once ordered Jahan Khan to punish the Sikhs. The Afghan general, taking Zabita Khan with him, travelled by forced marches and reached Meerut (nearly 200 miles) in three days.

The Sikhs got news of it four gharis beforehand, and went away across the Jumna. Those who remained behind were all killed and much plunder was taken. The Sikhs were then overtaken and engaged in a fight between Shamli and Kairanah, two important towns on the western side of the Muzaffarnagar district. The leader of the Sikhs was slain, Baghel Singh was wounded and a

[1] G. R. C. Williams in Calcutta Review, January 1875, p. 27, quotes from the diary of a contemporary relating to this invasion of the Sikhs :—"Indeed this slave of God himself lost some property on the occasion ; it was the very month of Shams-ud-din's marriage and Sheikh Allah Yar Khan, son of Muhammad Khan, attained the crown of martyrdom by the hands of the infidels."

large number of the Sikhs were killed.[1] The rest fled away. Then, in the same manner, the detachment returned to the halting place in the course of seven days.

10. AHMAD SHAH LEAVES INDIA. SIKHS RE-OCCUPY LAHORE.

Najib left the Shah on the Sutlej ;[2] and Ahmad Shah, being oppressed by the burning heat of the Punjab plains which was daily growing and the harassing tactics of the Sikhs, and in view of the swelling rivers of the Punjab, speedily left the banks of the Sutlej and by fast marches returned to his own country via Lahore,[3] thus leaving the whole country in the hands of the Sikhs.

This was the inglorious end of the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali. In spite of his best and constant efforts he ultimately failed in suppressing a militant people who were closely knit together by ties of race and religion, and who possessed invincible courage and irresistible will.

On the retirement of Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Sikhs again spread all over the country and resumed charge of

[1] 9.000 according to Miskin who was present in the campaign, 267-268. C. P. C. ii. 412. Nur-ud-din, 111-112.

[2] ("Thereafter Ahmad Shah gave Najib leave to go. Najib came to the Sirhind district and long stayed at Mustafabad, (25 miles east of Ambala), attacked many parganahs of the Sikhs, and encamped on the stream of Saraswati, which is sacred to the Hindus and is dry at some places and flowing in others." Nur-ud-din, 112b.) Najib-ud-daulah arrived at Delhi on the 30th July where he stayed in the mansion of Shuja-ud-daulah. Delhi Chronicle, 213.

[3] "The Sikhs are so strong in numbers that it is impossible for the Shah to reduce them till after a long time." C. P. C. ii. 393, 377, 513, 1365.

their old possessions. Gujar Singh, Lahna Singh and Sobha Singh also came to Lahore and encamped in the Shalamar Garden. They sent a message to Dadan Khan, the Durrani Governor, to vacate Lahore or prepare for fighting. Dadan Khan held a council of his advisors and invited the grandees of the city such as Mian Muhammad Ashiq, Mir Nathu Shah, Hafiz Qadir Bakhsh Tajar, Lala Maharaj son of Diwan Surat Singh etc. All of them unanimously advised him :—"The people are very glad and satisfied with the rule of the Sikhs. They might open the city gates in the night or break holes in the city walls and thus admit them into the town. You will in that case fall a victim to their wrath. In our opinion, therefore, you should have an interview with them and after having settled something for yourself by way of allowance or jagir should entrust the town to them." Dadan Khan agreed and went to the Sikhs, who treated him with great consideration and respect, granted him a daily allowance of Rs. 20 and then occupied the town.[1]

II. SIKH EXTENSIONS OF TERRITORY.

The Sikhs now began to extend the boundaries of their territories by conquering the parts so far unsubdued. It has already been mentioned that in 1765 Sardar Gujar Singh had defeated and killed Muqarrab Khan, the Gakhar chief of Gujrat and had established his headquarters at this place. In 1767 he started the systematic subjugation of the warlike tribes of the Salt Range and Rawalpindi, and Gakhars, Janjuahs and Awans alike gave way before him. He thus annexed the whole of the Gakhar possessions to his own and left Milkha Singh Thepuria[2]

[1] Ali-ud-din, 130b & 144b.

[2] Milkha Singh, a powerful Sikh chief, was a resident of village Kaleki near Kasur. He founded the village of Thepur in Lahore

to govern this part of his territory. Milkha Singh perceived the admirable position of Rawalpindi which was then an insignificant place. So he fixed his head-quarters there, built new houses and fortified the place in some measure. He then subdued the neighbouring territory which yielded him three lakhs a year. His resolution was so firm and power so great that even the fierce tribes of a distant place like Hazara had respect for him. The Murree hills, however, retained their independence for some time longer. Milkha Singh claimed allegiance from the hill Gakhar chiefs and granted them jagirs of 107 hill villages; but the recipients hardly acknowledged that gift, which was more nominal than real.[1]

Then turning to the far east, we find that Bhai Desu Singh, son of Gurbakhsh Singh, who had inherited a few villages in Kularan, began to extend his territory from this small beginning. At this time Bhikbakhsh and Niamat Khan, the two brothers, were in possession of Kaithal. Bhai Desu Singh advanced from Bhochoki, encamped at Kutana where he collected further forces and munitions of war and then marched against Kaithal, which succumbed after but a weak resistance. Bhikbakhsh died in exile, but his brother Niamat Khan fared better because he was liberally treated by the conquerors who granted him several villages in jagir.[2]

district (thus winning the title of Thepuria) and seized on Narwar, Jandhir, Dalen and many other villages, some in the vicinity of Thepur, others in the Gujranwala and Gujrat districts. Not being content with these possessions, he marched northward, in the train of Sardar Gujar Singh Bhangi and settled at Rawalpindi.

[1] Rawalpindi Gazetteer, 38-39; Punjab Chiefs, 322-23; J. A. S. B., vol. 40, part I, 1871, p. 100.

[2] Karnal Gazetteer, 38.

About the same time Budh Singh Singhpuria defeated Shaikh Nizam-ud-din of Jullundur and captured the parganahs of Jullundur, Bulandgarh, Haibatpur, Patti, Nurpur and Bahrampur, yielding three lakhs a year.[1]

12. Sikh invasion into the Gangetic Doab. December 1767—January 1768.

In December 1767 the Sikhs again turned their attention towards the country of Najib-ud-daulah across the Jumna. In the absence of Ahmad Shah Abdali they were determined to punish his plenipotentiary who had been responsible for so much bloodshed of their brethren. On the 19th December they arrived in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Najib-ud-daulah had every information about the whereabouts of the Sikhs and on their approach near the imperial capital issued instructions to Yaqub Ali Khan and other officers (amils and faujdars) to protect the city from their depredations.

Then they crossed the Jumna, and began to plunder the country, sparing very few towns, and desolated the town of Nanoutah, which was beginning to rise from its ruins.[2]

In the meanwhile, brave old Najib-ud-daulah had moved from his head-quarters and reached Kandelah just beyond the north-western border of the Meerut district. He advanced to the north of Muzaffarnagar by forced marches and compelled the Sikhs to fall back before him on Nanoutah. There the Sikhs made a bold stand, but were beaten and driven northward to Islamnagar, a

[1] Raj Khalsa, 48.

[2] Delhi Chronicle, 214-15. The contemporary chronicler pathetically laments the destruction of his five dwelling houses, the burning of his beloved library, and the loss of all sorts of odds and ends; not one solitary pot or pan evaded the scrutiny of the invaders. G. R. C. Williams, Calcutta Review, 1875, 28.

Pathan colony in the Nakoor Tahsil of Saharanpur district. There they again stood up to oppose the Amir-ul-umra, and fought a hard battle.[1]

[1] G. R C. Williams, Calcutta Review, 1875, 28. A paper of intelligence dated the 13th January 1768, from Bourpur, about two kos on this side of Berar (Jalalabad) gives a graphic description of this engagement. "Harkarahs brought advice that the Sikhs were hovering in detached bodies round the camp beyond the reach of cannon shot, and that they had posted a party on the Jalalabad road to intercept the convoys of grain. A detachment of the Afghans was ordered to reinforce the convoy, and after a smart skirmish part of it was brought safe to the camp. Immediate orders were issued by Najib-ud-daulah to get the artillery in readiness and prepare for battle. The necessary evolutions were hardly performed when advice was brought that the advance-guards were already engaged. A heavy fire of artillery and small arms began and was maintained with great vigour. Najib-ud-daulah, mounted on an elephant, was present in the rear of the artillery, and the first line which bore the brunt of the battle, behaved with singular intrepidity. In the midst of this, the Sikhs found means by a feint to throw the line of artillery into some confusion and were advancing with great impetuosity when some timely assistance was given by Sayyid Muhammad Khan and a chosen body of the Afghans, and the Sikhs were repulsed with loss and confusion. Towards the close of the day Najib-ud-daulah ordered his troops to desist from the engagement but to stand armed and prepared against any unexpected movement of the enemy. Before break of day the Sikhs renewed the engagement with redoubled vigour, and advice was at the same time received that a convoy of grain from Daul was intercepted and seized. It was determined therefore that the camp should be transferred nearer to Jalalabad where there was a considerable quantity of grain. It was thought that by this means the dangers of conveyance would be avoided, the supplies of provisions secured and the hearts of the soldiers strengthened. Time will tell what their future operations will effect. The Sikhs are moving all round there in flying bodies. Several Sardars of distinction were killed and wounded in the battle." (C. P. C. ii. 776).

At last the Sikhs retreated to Saharanpore and finally retired by Raj Ghat. This was Najib-ud-daulah's last triumph. His declining powers could not successfully cope with the rising strength of the Sikhs, and henceforth raids from the Punjab became so frequent and so regular that the people of the Gangetic Doab gave up all resistance, calmly submitting to their fate. "As regularly as the crops were cut, the border chieftains crossed over and levied blackmail from almost every village, in the most systematic manner. Their requisitions were termed *rakhi*, sometimes euphemistically *kambli*, *i.e.* 'blanket money'.[1] Each of them had a certain well-known beat or circle, so well-recognized and so clearly defined that it is not unusual for the peasantry at the present day to speak of some places being for instance, in Jode Singh's *patti*, others in Diwan Singh's or Himmat Singh's, and so on. The collections, of course, varied with the ability of the people to pay, averaging from two to five rupees a head. Two or three horsemen generally sufficed to collect them, for 2,000 or 3,000 more were never very far off. In case of delay about paying up, a handful of troops, each well-mounted and armed with a spear, sword and good matchlock, speedily appeared to accelerate the liquidation of the debt. Refusal was fatal."[2]

13. Najib feels himself beaten by the Sikhs, March 1768.

On the retirement of the Sikhs from the Gangetic Doab to their own territories, Najib went to Aonla where he celebrated the marriage of his son Kalu Khan. The

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[1] Each man seems to have been charged grain or money equal to the price of a blanket.

[2] G. R. C. Williams, *Calcutta Review*, 1875, pp. 28-29.

Sikhs finding him absorbed in these nuptial festivities, again spread in the parganahs of Karnal and Panipat and ravaged the imperial domains. Thereupon Najib moved from Aonla by forced marches, arrived at Delhi and then marched towards the Sikhs to exert himself to expel them as usual. He fought many battles with them but was defeated. The Sikh leader Jai Singh (Jassa Singh?) wrote a letter recalling all the Sikh bands then in Bharatpur with Jawahir Singh. [1]

Having defeated Najib the Sikhs marched towards Delhi and menaced the imperial city, "committing hostilities and depredations in those very quarters." Musavi Khan, the King's agent, had scanty forces with him and possessed no sources to draw succour from, and was therefore not sufficiently strong either to defend the fort of Delhi or to undertake an expedition.[2]

Najib-ud-daulah was so much shaken in his determination and his utter weakness against the Sikhs unfolded itself in so glaring a manner before him, that he thought of seeking his political salvation by making a pilgrimage to Mecca or by retiring into some obscure retreat.[3] He openly confessed himself beaten in a letter addressed to the Queen-mother of Shah Alam II, and recalled his agent Sultan Khan, troops and goods from Delhi, leaving the royal family and the city to their fate.[4] The sudden

[1] He wrote .—"What are you doing there ? I have repeatedly written to you to chastise Najib, but you have not done it. So I have now come here. You join me from his kingdom." S. P. D. xxix. 143.

[2] C. P. C. ii. 835. Nur-ud-din, 113.

[3] C. P. C. ii. 847.

[4] Najib wrote to the Dowager Queen :—"To this hour her servant has manifested unshaken loyalty to the House of Timur.

desertion of the capital by Najib deeply disturbed the mind of the Emperor, as we shall find from the persual of the letter given in C. P. C. ii. 846. Moreover, it elevated the spirits of the Sikhs so highly that they now wanted to play the role of king-makers by offering to escort Shah Alam to the imperial throne. There was, however, no unity among the Sikh chiefs, and every one of them wished to be the king-maker and hence the Emperor declined to give himself up to them, as will be clear from his letter written to Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the chief leader of the Sikhs. [C. P. C. ii. 849.]

And his services, however poor or inconsiderable, have yet been zealous and sincere. Hitherto he has preserved the Royal domains, and what he has been able to give he has given. But now Her Majesty must forgive her servant and not expect what he has no ability to perform. The Sikhs have prevailed and they have written to all the tribes in general to join them, pointing to his weakness and encouraging them to cast him out. Her Majesty will consider him now as one unable to provide for his own security here. If, therefore, it meets with her august approbation and the proposal is thought practicable, her servant is ready to escort the whole Royal family to the Presence. There is still time enough eft for the execution of this purpose. Moreover, on account of the engagements which subsist between Her Majesty and her servant, he will continue firm to her side while he has the power to do so; and when he has no power left, he will escort Her Majesty, to the Presence of her son He is ready to perform these conditions and would on no account have it said that he failed in them and turned his back in the day of trial." C. P. C. ii. 847.

In another letter written nearly six months later, Najib-ud-daulah again admitted his inability to cope with the situation, while writing to the Emperor :—"Until this hour I have manifested the firmest attachment and fidelity towards the young princes and Her Majesty the Begam. But now I am no longer able to continue that support to them which is necessary for their preservation. Let Your Majesty in your own Royal person advance to your

14. NAJIB AGAIN DEFEATED BY THE SIKHS, DECEMBER 1768.

A Marathi despatch dated the 30th December 1768, written by Sadashiv Ballal to Vishvasrao Lakshman, says that Najib again fought with the Sikhs but was defeated.[1] This is the last battle fought between the Sikhs and Najib-ud-daulah which we have come across in the contemporary records.

15. THE SIKH POSSESSIONS IN 1768.

Having overpowered all their enemies, the Sikhs obtained possession of the major portion of the Punjab, extending in the east from the bank of the Jumna, running from Buriya to Karnal, in the west as far as the Indus from Attock to the vicinity of Bhakkar, and in the south from the neighbourhood of Multan and Sind, to the foot of the Siwalik Hills in the north up to the boundaries of Bhimbar, Jammu and Kangra, interspersed here and there with some petty independent chiefships.[2]

The Sikhs had only three external enemies—The Mughal Government of Lahore, Ahmad Shah Abdali and Najib-ud-daulah, and had nothing else to fear in any other quarter. The Mughal Government came to an end when Ahmad Shah Abdali became master of the Punjab. The Durrani himself left no stone unturned in their suppression, but he had now grown old and his disease of cancer of the nose clung to him so steadfastly that it had become

capital and yourself defend your own honour. Your vassal ingenuously represents that he is not equal to the charge in his present situation." C. P. C. ii. 1101. S. P. D. xxix. 143.

[1] S. P. D. xxix. 223.

[2] Forster, i. 324-25; Chahar Gulzar Shujai, 501a-b; 545a, 551a; Maasir-ul-Umara, ii. 516; Shakir, 105; Ahmad Shah, 966-68;

hopelessly incurable. His Indian allies were deserting him one by one, and during his recent expedition none except Najib-ud-daulah had presented himself before him. His Indian revenues were constantly and steadily falling, so much so that the Amir-ul-umra Najib-ud-daulah himself who controlled the Indian Empire as plenipotentiary of his master, the Durrani Emperor, paid him only two lakhs out of a sum of two krores and eighty lakhs due as tribute for seven years. His soldiers were getting refractory for his failure to pay them and they openly mutinied.[1]

He had realized that among the exploited population of India, a section of society which had succeeded in rising equal to him had become conscious of its strength and was endeavouring to break his power, to cast him down from his privileged position and to occupy it in his stead. Like a true statesman, Abdali had felt his

Sohan Lal, Appendix to Vol. i. p. 14; Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 43. (Khushwaqt Rai, 98-99, laments the supremacy of the Sikhs in these words :—"The Sikhs secured possession and control over this country of the Punjab and every one of them seized upon the places which he could. It seemed as if the agents of fate and destiny had distributed the Land of the Five Rivers among them with their own hands. It was effected indeed neither by the generosity of Ahmad Shah, nor by the kindness of Muhammad Shah. Glory be to God, before whom no bravery, no heroism, no unmanliness and no cowardice count. What valour and prowess are there which were not exhibited by Ahmad Shah and his followers and what timidity is there which the Sikhs did not display? Whenever the Afghan troops under grand generals entered this country, the people of this sect fled to the impenetrable retreats in mountains and forests." He then heaves a deep sigh of grief and says something, probably hitting at the humble origin of the Sikhs.—Cf. Chahar Chaman, 228b-229a).

[1]Ahmad Shah tried to invade India once more in 1769; but "he had come as far as Jhelum, when owing to dissensions among

limitations and tried his best to pacify these people whose attacks he could no longer resist. When he failed in his attempts he was satisfied by leaving a grateful and contented Sikh chief in the Cis-Sutlej country on whom he could depend for an annual tribute. He himself confined his ambition to the west of the Indus, abandoning the rest of the Punjab, including the provincial capital, to his formidable adversaries, the Sikhs. Henceforth the Punjab ceased to be the "jumping-off ground" of the foreign invaders of Northern India, and a continuous peace with regard to foreign aggression which was broken only once nearly a generation later, has prevailed in the country till this day.

Abdali's greatest lieutenant Najib-ud-daulah had also openly admitted himself as beaten at the hands of an entire nation in arms and in jubilant spirits and nascent energy, increasing "like ants and locusts."[1]

Thus had the Sikhs emerged triumphant from their deadly struggle of the past thirty years; and the long-drawn agony of their subjection came to an end and the dream of their independence was realized. All the opposing elements struck and beat upon them, but they could not shake the sturdy Sikhs standing on the steel-like rock of faith and freedom. The internal vigour consisting of their dogged faith in themselves and in the prophecy of Guru

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his followers, he was compelled to return to his own country. On the way between Peshawar and Kabul a tumult arose in his army, his whole camp was plundered, and many of his chiefs and soldiers were either killed or dispersed. The Shah and Shah Vali Khan, his Wazir, in a miserable plight, took the road to Kandahar." C. P. C. ii. 1499.

[1] Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai, 545a.

Gobind Singh that they would one day become a nation, their determined courage and unconquerable spirit of resistance, not only sustained them against the bloody persecution of a great Government determined to suppress them, but also raised them up again with greater strength after every attempt to annihilate them.

Summing up, we may say that their praise-worthy success is due to two causes. One was the tenacity of purpose and resourcefulness of mind which made the chiefs and troopers of that blood capable of protracted endurance and sustained enterprise in the face of difficulties and discouragements before which other Indians were apt to succumb with the feeling that destiny was against them. The other, that fighting is an art, consisting of quick observation, skill and a combination of unselfishness and the habit of trusting one's comrades and leaders, they possessed in a remarkable degree. The most important factor, that fighting is a science requiring study and the power of concentrating high mental faculties, was not realized by the Sikhs till Ranjit Singh's time.

We now close the narrative of the Sikhs, who won for the Punjab the envied title of "the soldiers' land" and who alone can boast of having erected a "bulwark of defence against foreign aggression," the tide of which had run its prosperous course for the preceding 800 years, and to whom all other peoples of Northern India in general and of the Punjab in particular owe a deep debt of gratitude.

CONCLUSION.

SECTION I.

LIFE AND MANNERS OF THE SIKHS.

1. PHYSIQUE.

The military strength of the Sikhs rested mainly on the Jats of the Manjha or Central Bari Doab. Accustomed from infancy to the most laborious out-door life and hardest fare, they grew tall, muscular and healthy. They possessed a light frame which was very often exceedingly wiry and capable of great endurance that really appeared astonishing. The genuine Khalsa knew no occupation but war and agriculture, and hence hardened by bold exploits and inured to climate they acquired a physique far superior to that of the general run of Indians. Their thorough-bred looks, martial bearing and dignified appearance could elicit praise even from their bitterest foes. A Muslim historian, though passing the foulest remarks about the Sikhs, which we refrain from reproducing here, says :—" It may not be unknown that after the Durranis no other troops can be compared to the Sikhs. This sect abounds in giant-sized and lion-limbed youths whose stroke of the leg would certainly cause instantaneous death to a Vilayti Qipchaq horse. Their matchlock strikes a man at a distance of nine hundred footsteps and each of them covers two hundred kos on horse-back. Clearly enough, had it not been so how would they have succeeded in opposing the Vilayti troops? After all the Durrani army also admitted the sharpness of the sword of the Sikhs."[1]

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[1] Imad-i-Sa'adat, 71. (George Thomas, another contemporary testified to this fact in the following words :—"When mounted

So far as their personal appearance is concerned we can imagine their calm, courteous and striking faces and piercing and animated eyes hidden beneath the mass of moustache and beard. Their faces had regular, strongly-marked and handsome features, full of energy in the expression. Their skin was light brown and very often smooth, and fresh-looking. They had as a rule beautiful teeth, white, strong and regular, which they cleaned with the usual tooth-stick. The hair, of course, was black and the beards and moustaches were greatly cared for. Their average weight as supposed by an intelligent man of their class, was two maunds.[1]

2. Disposition.

The Sikhs, though not an intellectual race, possessed considerable shrewdness united with unusual independence of character. They were sober and well-disposed with a high spirit and frank, simple and unsophisticated manners. They were well-behaved, brave, self-respecting and honourable. In their intercourse with one another they were good humoured, cheerful and open, perhaps too confiding. They betrayed no signs of timidity or cringing in their manners. They seemed a jovial, light-hearted people, fond of sport, sociable and upright in their domestic life. They were by no means devoid of humour. They indulged in a good deal of somewhat coarse raillery.

on horse-back, their black flowing locks, and half-naked bodies, which are formed in the stoutest and most athletic mould, the glittering of their arms, and the size and speed of their horses, render their appearance imposing and formidable, and superior to meet most of the cavalry in Hindostan." Memoirs, 73; Cf. Francklin's Shah Aulum, 77).

[1] Colonel Polier's Memoir in Forster, i 334, Malcolm, 104.

A Sikh loved a joke when the point was broad enough for him to see and he enjoyed very much an appositely quoted proverb. No superiority complex existed among them.[1]

3. CHARACTER.

There was no quality possessed by the Sikhs more remarkable than the elasticity of character, the power to adapt themselves to all circumstances, an expansive and contractive principle susceptible of being adjusted to the requirements of the moment. They possessed sufficient vigour of body and mind to withstand the changes of climate. The burning sun, heavy rains, freezing winter and rough weather exercised no deterring influence on them. The utmost persecution by the enemies of their faith, the demolition of their homesteads and sacred buildings and the enslaving of their women and children did not damp their spirits. As a consolation to them amidst their never ceasing anxiety, restless movement, everchanging scene and unconsciousness as to what the next day might bring forth, they had in them all a sufficient antidote against the fancies which were bound to arise in solitude and in separation from their dear ones. Thus it was due to these faculties that the Sikhs under the pressure of the severest type of calamities displayed a courage and manifested a perseverance of the most obstinate kind.

The other conspicuous trait of their character the true blood of loyalty and devotion to their Panth

[1] Browne, Introduction x. Malcolm, 13[illegible]; Khushwaqt Rai, 102; Ali-ud-din, 192b.

surging in their veins. They never allowed their private feelings, desires, loves, sorrows, likes and dislikes to come between them and the good of the Panth. A true Sikh will let his body be cut to pieces when fighting for his faith ; nay, he considered dying in battle a means of salvation. Some may say that a soldier sells his head for the petty dole he receives every month ; but a Sikh did not do so. He devoted his head, heart, body and everything dear to him to preserving the influence of his Panth. Death, in all its forms, steadily looked him in the face more often than we can imagine, but a Sikh maintained a calm, cheerful and dignified demeanour, muttering slowly, "*Nanak ! Das sada qurbani.*" (Thy servant, O Nanak ! stands ready for sacrifice). This was the noble expression of their spirit.

On the other hand, their success did not make them lose their head. They remained humble, simple and quiet as they were before and proved themselves true and faithful followers of the Guru in magnanimously playing the part of a hero in times of misfortune and that of a good fellow in halcyon days. They seldom resorted to cold-blooded murder even of their bitter enemies and respected the chastity of woman as their faith and honour. Thus we can safely say that prosperity did not spoil them and adversity could not crush them.

As for the bravery and warlike spirit of the Sikhs, they were full of daring, impetuous valour, unflinching courage, patient endurance of fatigue, high aspirations and manliness of sentiment. No superiority of his enemies in number, no stroke, no shot, no shell could make his heart quail since his Amrit, taken at the time of baptism, bound him to fight single-handed against

millions. They could ply their swords, pliant as a cane and sharp as a razor, with perfect ease and dexterity, while in the discharge of matchlocks they were invariably dead shots. In a contest with their enemies, they would rush at them like tigers, moving their swords like forked lightning and even the dreaded Durranis found their match in them.

As a testimony to what we have said above, we quote here Qazi Nur Muhammad, the bigoted author of the "Jang Namah", who came in the train of Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1764 to fight against the Sikhs. This Qazi, though he uses most offensive expressions for the Sikhs, their religion and their Gurus, as we have had occasion to quote above, feels rather compelled to present a faithful picture of his formidable enemies. He says :—" Do not call the Sikhs "dogs", because they are lions and are brave like lions in a battle-field. How can a hero of the battle who fights like a lion be a dog ? If you cherish a desire of learning the art of war, come before them in the field. They will show you such (wonderful) feats of war. O, swordsman! if you want to learn the modes of fighting, learn from them how to face the foe like a hero and how to come out unscathed from the battle. You may know that their title is Singh (lion) and it is injustice to call them dogs. O youth ! if you are ignorant of the Hindi language, (I can tell you that) the meaning of Singh is lion. In fact they are lions at the time of battle and when in festivities they surpass Hatim (in generosity). When they take hold of the Indian sword in hand they gallop from Hind (Gangetic Doab, invaded in February 1764) upto the country of Sind. Nobody, however strong and wealthy, dared to oppose them. When they

fight with a spear, they bring defeat to the army of the enemy. When they hold the spear-head upward they break to pieces even the Caucasus Mountain. When they bend a bow they set in it the foe-killing arrow. When they pull it up to the ear, the body of the enemy trembles like a cane. If their hatchet strikes a coat of mail, then this coat of mail itself on the body of the enemy becomes a shroud. The body of each of them looks like a hillock and in grandeur excels fifty men. Bahram Gor (a Persian hero) killed wild asses and could frighten tigers. If Bahram Gor comes before them, he also would admit their superiority.

"Besides these arms, when they take up a musket in hand at the time of battle, they come to the field fiercely springing and roaring like lions and (immediately) spilt many a beast and make the blood of many others roll in the dust. You may say that this musket was invented in ancient times by these dogs and not by Luqman Hakim (Æsop). Though guns are possessed in large numbers by others, yet nobody knows them better. These bad-tempered (people) discharge hundreds of bullets on the enemy on the right and left and in front and on the back. If you disbelieve in what I say, enquire from the brave warriors who will tell you more than what I have said and would have nothing but praise for their (art of) war. The witnesses of my statement are those thirty thousand heroes who fought with them.

"O hero! if their troops take to flight, do not consider it a defeat. It is a trick of their mode of war. May God forbid the repetition of such a fraud! They resort to this deception in order to make the angry enemy

grow bold and run in their pursuit. When they find them separated from their main body and away from help and reinforcement, they at once turn back and give them the hardest possible time. Did you not see that in the battle they took to flight by way of cunning from before the Khan, then turned back from a distance and surrounded the Khan in a circle ? The world-famous wrestler (the Khan) alighted from his horse, fought against them valiantly and in the end the hero escaped from their midst.

"O valiant fighter! do justice to their (art of) war. One of their armies invaded Multan and gave the city over to plunder. The dogs carried off a lot of booty ; and my heart does not permit me (to narrate) what the "dogs" did there . Nobody remembers (such a catastrophe) from the times of the good-natured Adam. None else had ever subjected Multan to such a plunder and pillage. But as God had ordained such a revolution, each of us has submitted to His will.

" Besides their fighting, listen to one thing more in which they excel all other warriors. They never kill a coward and do not obstruct one who flees from the field. They do not rob a woman of her gold and ornaments, may she be a queen or a slave-girl. Adultery also does not exist among the " dogs ". None of them is a thief. A woman whether young or old is called by them a " Burhiya "—one who has retired from the world. The meaning of " burh-iya " in Hindi language is an aged woman. The " dogs " never resort to stealing and no thief exists among them, and they do not keep company with the adulterer and the thief."[1]

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[1] Cf. Forster. i. 333; Ali-ud-din, 128a. Jang Namah, 172-75.

4. Recruitment in the Sikh army.

Only Sikhs were recruited as soldiers in the Sikh army and no consideration was paid to their original caste or creed. Enlistment was voluntary. The fresh recruits could join the contingent of any chief and had perfect liberty to transfer their services to a more popular leader. Hence it was always incumbent upon the chief to maintain his popularity and to keep his followers in good humour. No records of the soldiers' names, service, payment etc. were kept. This fact accounts for our failure to have an exact number of the strength of the Sikh army. Regarding this matter we are left entirely to guess work and the rough estimate of the contemporary writers.[1]

5. Drill and discipline.

The Sikh soldiers were given no training in drill, marching, manners of attack or the ways of defence etc. either individually or in groups. As a matter of fact the Sikhs of those days never dreamed of such things. In spite of this drawback, the Sikhs never proved themselves bad soldiers or wanting in war tactics. This deficiency of the military science was supplied by their religious zeal, single-minded devotion to the Panth, strong passion of revenge and intense feeling of self-respect. There was no organization of the Sikh soldiers into regular regiments of uniform size. The contingents of individual chiefs, who were numerous, and whether their number was big or small, formed the units of the Dal Khalsa. When the expedition was organized on a large scale, the whole Dal Khalsa united under the command of

[1] Cf. Forster, i. 331.

one supreme chief, usually Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, and all the heads of the various contingents obeyed him though much was left to their discretion. In cases of disobedience of orders a council of war consisting of five prominent leaders punished them, and these punishments were borne without any grumbling because it was considered that they were decreed by the Guru through his chosen five. The Sikhs, therefore, humourously gave such punishment the name of receiving one's salary. It may be noted that the cases of disobedience were very rare[1].

6. Modes of payment.

The modes of payment to the Sikh soldiers were various. They were paid no monthly salary or weekly wages. They were permitted to retain a portion of the booty acquired in a raid. To some money was also paid in small sums while others were allotted lands; but the most common method, then in vogue, was to pay them in kind at the time of each harvest. A fixed quantity of grain, cotton, sugar and fodder, and other things, the produce of the country, was allowed to each individual.[2]

7. Equipment.

The accoutrements of a Shikh soldier while on a march consisted of offensive and defensive weapons, priming horns, ammunition pouches, two blankets, a grain bag and heel ropes, while their cooking utensils

[1] "Though orders are issued in a Sicque army", says Forster, on p. 329 of his Vol. 1, "and a species of obedience observed, punishments are rarely inflicted."

[2] Memoirs of George Thomas, 75-76.

were carried on ponies. Swords, spears, scymetar, sabre, two-edged daggers, lances, muskets, guns, cutlasses, pikes, bows and arrows were generally employed. In the handling of these arms, especially the matchlock and the sabre, they were uncommonly expert. Shield of hide and sometimes a coat of arms were the main weapons of defence. The chiefs were only distinguishable from their followers by finer horses and arms. In their excursions or in the camps they carried no tents. The chiefs were sheltered by only a small square canopy of coarse cotton cloth, supported on four poles, while the soldiers rested under a blanket spread over two sticks in case of rain and sun; otherwise they wrapped themselves in cotton sheets in summer and in blankets in winter. On a march they put the blankets beneath the saddle, so that with this scanty accoutrement they could encamp or decamp in a few minutes at their will.[1]

8. METHOD OF WARFARE.

The method of warfare of the Sikhs was rather crude. They generally adopted guerilla tactics of warfare, though about 1765 they seem to have taken to settled fighting in ranks. Their method of attack, as is described by contemporary writers, was this. A party of Sikh horsemen numbering from forty would advance towards the ranks of the enemy galloping at a quick pace and would suddenly draw up their houses who were so expertly trained to this sort of performance that on receiving a stroke of the hand they

[1] Forster, i. 332-34; Browne, Introduction, ix, x; Memoirs of George Thomas, 71-73; Francklin's Shah Aulum, 76; Malcolm, 141; Ali-ud-din 193a.

would stop from a full career. Then they simultaneously discharged their loaded guns from a distance with such marksmanship that not a single shot would fail in its aim. After that they suddenly retired to about a hundred paces, re-loaded their pieces and repeated the old process. All this was done with an alacrity and activity unparalleled by other people of India. This caused a great annoyance to the enemy and made it helpless against them.[1]

Another method was engaging the enemy at close quarters in a continued skirmish, advancing and retreating so rapidly and with such vigour that the enemy soon got puzzled. This process was continued until the man and the animal became equally exhausted. The front ranks then would retire to the rear and fresh troops would come forward to replace them in turn. The fatigued horses were let loose to graze for a while and the soldiers themselves would wash down their throat a little parched gram, and thus refreshed would renew their attacks.[2]

An old tactic, so frequently resorted to by the Sikhs, was to discharge a sudden volley of bullets and bombs (huqqa ?) upon the enemy, engage them in fight for an hour or so, and then suddenly retire from the field. This gave the enemy an idea that the Sikhs had taken to flight. A detachment of the enemy pursued them. When the Sikhs found their pursuers away from the immediate succour of their main body, they would all of a sudden come to a halt, return and attack them vehemently. Each Sikh fought hand to hand with his opponent, grappled his

[1] Forster, i. 332-33 ; Francklin's Shah Aulum, 76.

[2] Memoirs of George Thomas, 71-73.

body to his, gripped and wrestled with him and threatened him with frowning looks, dreadful gestures, horrible distortions and hideous cries. They then throttled, tore and slaughtered him, thus cutting the whole batch to pieces.

Sometimes combats between individuals were held. This was the most attractive form of fighting, because it allowed personal valour to come out glaringly. The Sikhs were light horsemen, each man carrying his food, forage, bedding, head and heel ropes for their animals, marching from fifty to hundred miles after a defeat, and then halting in complete readiness to fight on the following day.

At the time of Ahmad Shah's eighth invasion we come across two or three cases when the Sikhs preferred to have a pitched battle. We find them organised in a regular battle array to which we have already referred in these pages.

9. RAIDS.

It was in their raids that the Sikhs were at their best. In the beginning of the period treated of in the previous pages we started with them as raiders and left them at the end as rulers but still retaining an essential part of their old character. Their perfect self-confidence, the lightning-like rapidity of their movements and the manner in which they could extort money from the people made them a great terror, to which large tracts full of teeming population yielded so submissively that one or two Sikhs could easily over-awe a big village.[1]

[1] This will be clear from an entry recorded by Mr. Forster when on his travels, dated the 28th February 1783 at Kheynaspoor near Dehra Dun. It runs :—"I saw two Sicque horsemen, who

Marching from fifty to one hundred and twenty miles daily and continuing the exertion for many successive days, which might appear incredible to us, their incursions became formidable.[1] As most of the Sikh soldiers had two or three horses each, they could quickly gather large booty. Francklin in his *Shah Aulum* (pp. 76-77) gives the following interesting details about the manner in which they conducted their predatory excursions. He writes :—" Inured from their infancy to the hardships of a military life, the Seiks are addicted to predatory warfare, in a manner peculiar to themselves alone. When determined to invade a neighbouring province they assemble at first in small numbers on the frontier, when having first demanded the *rakhi* or tribute, if it be complied with, they retire peaceably; but when this is denied, hostilities commence, and the Seiks in their progress, are accustomed to lay waste the country on all sides, carrying along with them as many of the inhabitants as they can take prisoners, and all the cattle. The

had been sent from their country to receive the Sirinaghur tribute, which is collected from .the revenues of certain custom houses. From the manner in which these men were treated, or rather treated themselves. I frequently wished for the power of migrating into the body of a Sicque for a few weeks—so well did these cavaliers fare. No sooner had they alighted, than beds were prepared for their repose, and their horses were supplied with green barley pulled out of the field. The Kafilah travellers were contented to lodge on the ground, and expressed their thanks for permission to purchase what they required; such is the difference between those who were in, and those who were out of power." (Journey, Vol. I. 229).

[1] Browne, Introduction, ix; Forster, i. 333.

prisoners are detained as slaves, unless redeemed by a pecuniary compensation."[1]

10. HORSES.

The Sikhs had achieved success rather to a wonderful degree in horsemanship. Their horses were so expertly trained that they responded to their voice, touch of the hand and stroke of the heel. The men had acquired such practice in handling even a swimming horse that they could swim across a swollen and swift river with perfect easiness of mind. The love of a Sikh soldier for his horse was proverbial. They never hesitated in spending any amount of money in decorating and furnishing their horses, and as a matter of fact the quality of a horse and its equipment displayed the social and financial position of its owner. Its utility to them in the life of those days they clearly understood. "Though they make merry on the demise of any of their brethren", says Forster on p.334 of vol. I of his travels, "they mourn for the death of a horse: thus shewing their love of an animal so necessary to them in their professional capacity." Their horses were of the middle size, strong, active, patient, mild-tempered and noted for incredible endurance. The Sikh horses were of the best breed in India "owing to the use formerly made there of Arabian and Persian stallions, and

[1] "One thing, in their favour must be said, which raises them far above the Pindaris of Central India or the Dacoits of Bengal: they fought and plundered like men, and not like demons. There are few stories in Sikh History of outrage to women and torture to men such as stain the pages of South Indian History with cruelty and blood." (Rajas of the Punjab, 17).

something in the temperature of the air and water of that country".[1]

There were several good breeding grounds of horses. The horses of the sub-divisions of Fatahjhang, Pindi Gheb and Rawalpindi were much sought after ; those of the Jhelum district, especially of the Dhan, were held in good estimation. The greater part of the Sikh cavalry was horsed from the Dhanni plains, north of the Salt Range. Some of them were fast, but nearly all were graceful, remarkably enduring and able to go over the stoniest ground without shoes. The horses of Jhang and Multan bore a high reputation and the mares were esteemed to be among the best in the Punjab. The horses bred along the Lahore border, in the Nakka country, were held in good repute. These were country-bred, large, strong and long-winded and were much fancied by the Sikhs. These were uncommonly fine mares or stallions.[2] The Lakhi Jungle was also famous for a breed of excellent horses called the *Jungle Tazee.*

Horses were generally fed on gram, barley and a kind of grass called 'doob' which is very nutritive, but moth, bajra and tara-mira were also in use. In the spring they were stuffed with green wheat and gur. The usual feed for a brood mare was four seers of grain a day besides grass. Colts were allowed to run loose in the young wheat, and were also given jowar and moth. Breaking in commenced when they were two years old. They were at first ridden bare-back. An amble was the favourite

[1] Browne, Introduction, ix.

[2] Abul Fazal in the Ain-i-Akbari remarks that "these horses resemble 'Iraqis and are very fine." Tarikh-i-Ahmad, 41-42. Khulasat, 66, 75.

pace, but an accomplished mare was taught to go through many exercises.

The prices of the horses ranged between two hundred and one thousand rupees. George Thomas remarks that the breeders were averse to dispose of their brood mares, and if they were prevailed upon to do so, they would exact double the price, though in general with regard to the foreigners, they could not be persuaded to part with a brood mare for any price.[1]

II. THEIR FOOD.

The food of the Sikhs was of the simplest and coarsest kind, of little variety and such as is used by the poorest people in India from necessity. Two or three meals a day were eaten, according to the season of the year and the amount of work to be done. Their best dish was the bread baked on pan and embers, taken in the morning with lassi (buttermilk) and in the evening with herbs and different sorts of pulses. They indulged in this luxury when at full leisure; but when in a hurry they washed down their throat hastily parched vetches and tares and a handful of gram. A large quantity of milk was consumed daily, and in its season a good deal of sugar-cane was munched. Salt, chillies, onions, and other condiments if available were also used. *Dalya*, made from bruised wheat, jowar, *makkai*, and *khichri* made from bajra mixed with Mung ki dal were the favourite dishes.

[1] Cf. Forster, i. 332 ; 334 ; Browne, Introduction, ix ; Memoirs of George Thomas, 73-74, 133-34; Francklin's Shah Aulum, 76; Malcolm, 140 ; Alexandar Burnes' Travels, i, 11 ; Ali-ud-din, 27b-28a ; Jhelum Gazetteer, 113-114 ; Jhang Gazetteer, 123 ; Montgomery Gazetteer, 127.

It was considered better to make the bread, one part of gram with two of wheat, salt being mixed with it. This was called *'missi'* or *'besni.'* The thick *'roti'* made from wheat alone was called *'pani ki roti,'* the thin made after rolling out was called *'phulka'*. Pickle (*achar*) and some rough *chatni* completed their ideal dish.

On the occasion of a marriage or other ceremony superior food was consumed, and a great deal of sugar in some form or other (*gur, shakkar, khand*) was used. Gur, when it was to be bought, was eaten as a luxury in the cold weather ; but when it was prepared at the *'kohlu'*, it was turned to domestic use in the different stages of its making. The raw juice mixed with rice and milk was served up as a savoury dish by the good wife to her husband at his early morning meal. The *'karah parshad,'* consisting of equal portions of flour, sugar and clarified butter with water a double portion of the whole, was the consecrated food and was eaten at all religious ceremonies, and at the *pahal* when all those initiated ate from one dish.

With the exception of beef, they had no objection to a diet of flesh, fowl, or fish. The animal must be killed after the jhatka fashion, i.e. decapitation. Jhatka was not necessary when an animal was killed in sport. The necks of the birds were wrung, but those killed in sport were also excepted. Hunting of wild pigs was a favourite game. The Sikhs were, as they are up to the present day, remarkably fond of its flesh. They abhorred smoking tobacco, but intoxicated themselves with opium, bhang and spirits of their country manufacture.[1]

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[1] George Thomas, 72.

Men, women and children ate the same food. The full meal for a man was a seer.[1] The woman generally consumed as much as the man and no wonder, for a good Jat wife was by no means a lazy creature or devoid of muscle.

12. Dress.

The Sikhs were simple and unostentatious in their dress. They generally wore undyed clothes made of home spun cotton stuff. This consisted in the simplest form of three articles :—an ample turban of coarse cloth, of white or blue cotton, drawers (*kachchh*) generally blue, and a kind of checkered plaid or blue cloth thrown loosely over the shoulders and coming down between the legs was confined round the waist by a belt of cotton. These with a pair of slippers made by the village cobbler, constituted the simple and inexpensive wardrobe of a Sikh for the greater part of the year. In winter he had a blanket of wool which usually cost Rs. 2 or a *duhar* or *chautahi*, a sheet of very thick cotton stuff, double wove. The chiefs were distinguished by wearing some heavy gold bracelets on their wrists, and sometimes a chain of the same metal bound round their turbans, being mounted on better horses, and equipped with better arms ; otherwise, no distinction appeared amongst them.[2] On the occasion

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[1] This quantity was considered sufficient even for a military man and the records of the Sikh army in the times of Maharajah Ranjit Singh corroborate this fact. Vide Catalogue of the Khalsa Darbar Records, vol. i. 1919. Ali-ud-din, 358a-359a; Asiatic Annual Register, 1802, 10 ; Tohfai Punjab, 4; Calcutta Review, 1875, p.29 ; Colonel Polier's Memoir; Forster, i. 334; George Thomas, 72.

[2] Browne, Introduction, x.

of a wedding a somewhat better dress was worn, and some colour was shown in the pagri, the white cloth being tied over one coloured yellow or some shade of red or green. Sometimes they affected these coloured pagris and the mixtures were often tasteful.

The Sikh women wore *pajamas*, called *suthan*, made of susi, coloured cotton stuff, and a chadar worn over the head and shoulders, either coloured in the case of young women, or uncoloured, made of *garha* or *dhotar*, thick or thin cloth according to the season. This upper garment when coloured was of dyed cloth or of *phulkari*, i.e. worked with silk flowers, or of *sitari*, another form of silk work; most women also wore a kurta or waistcoat. When going to another village they wore a ghagra or petticoat above the trousers, and a choli or bodice of coloured cloth.

The everyday clothes were always prepared from the village-made cloth, which though rough proved very strong and durable. The ordinary dyes were indigo for blue and safflower for red and yellow.

13. AMUSEMENTS.

As a general rule, the Sikhs were manly, robust and vigorous and were passionately devoted to sports. The boys generally played *Gullidanda*[1], and *Pitkauḍi* or *Kabaddi*[2]. The men used with great dexterity wooden

[1] It is a game played with a stick and a spindle, which the players strike.

[2] In kabaddi, the party is divided into two sets each in their base, and when a man is sent by one set, one of the other set goes after him to touch him, and after touching him tries to get back to his own base. The other man, however, having been touched, closes with him to prevent this.

dumbbells which were enormously heavy and long. They also lifted and threw heavy weights. Both these amusements contributed a great deal to the uprightness of their carriage and fine figures. The game of *saunchi*,[1] too, was very popular.

The most universally popular sport was wrestling. At stated times in the year, large rural gatherings took place at some places to witness public matches. Prizes of horses, milch cows and scarfs were awarded to the best wrestlers.

Music, singing and dancing were all amusements much enjoyed by them, in particular at fairs. Dancing was generally performed by hired nach girls on the occasion of weddings or other festivities.

More intellectual amusement was sometimes found in listening to songs, sung by professional *mirasis* or *bhats*, a tribe of hereditary ballad singers, whose songs, ballads, and tales recited to the accompaniment of a fiddle or a tambourine, were in reality the favourite literature of the day. Occasionally a body of strolling acrobats visited a village and the people collected to see the exhibition.

14. WOMEN.

The women were generally fine-looking, tall and

[1] It requires a large open space. The players assemble and form two rings. One man from the outer ring falls out, runs backwards and forwards and is chased by one or two from the inner ring till he evades them and returns to his ring, or his opponents give in, or he is caught, when the same game is taken up by another set. The party chased may strike his opponents in the chest, or trip them up to prevent his being caught. Lahore Gazetteer, p. 49.

graceful and their figures in youth were well-rounded and supple; but they were inferior in physique to the men probably from early marriage, poor diet and bad sanitary conditions. Their part, as it is still today, was to guide the house. They ground corn, milked the cows and buffaloes, churned butter, cooked food, fetched water, span cotton for home consumption and attended to sewing the family clothes, besides lending a hand to their husbands in the work of the field. The higher functions of the wife, however, were not unknown. She had a paramount influence in the household, by controlling the family purse and endeavouring in every way to prevent her husband from extravagance. Besides, she had the management of the family marriages; and if she was a clever woman, her lord, if only for his own comfort, had to keep her in good humour.

In holiday times the women's garments were gay with many colours and a good deal of ostentation was displayed. A woman's social standing was greatly determined by her jewels[1] in which the spare capital was invested, as the money could always be realized on occasion of need. Great expenses were incurred on marriages. Private marriages were condemned, and were but seldom contracted.

15. Fairs.

The Sikhs were a lively and good-tempered people, fond of fairs, festivals and public assemblies. The

[1] The ornaments commonly worn were the same for all classes, except that Muslim women would not wear any on their heads. For a detailed account, cf, Ali-ud-din. 360b-362a ; Ludhiana Gazetteer, 53.

principal fairs were the Diwali and Baisakhi, held at Amritsar in the months of November and April respectively. Two large fairs were held at Taran Taran, in March and August. Religious fairs were also held at Goindwal, Khadur, Dehra Baba Nanak, and other Sikh shrines, but the above-named were the chief.

SECTION II.

THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY.

1. A PERIOD OF ANARCHY AND CONFUSION.

The Punjab, during the period under review (1739-1768) presented an awful picture of constant confusion and anarchy. The viceroys of the province were sunk in sloth and sensuality. There was no fear of the interference of the Central Government which was in a rather more distressed state, and so the provincial Governors were free from restraint. Hence there was no check on the progress of misrule. The fountains of justice were contaminated. The State revenues were seldom collected without severity and maltreatment.[1] The villages were set on fire and their inhabitants were crippled, sold into slavery or tortured to death. The Government officials, instead of affording protection to the poor people, were themselves the chief usurpers and plunderers. Sycophants and eunuchs revelled in the spoil of plundered territories and the poor found no redress against the tyrant's misdeeds and proud man's arrogance. Thus the people were plunged into the lowest depths of wretchedness and despondency.

This chaotic condition was further aggravated by the constant flow of foreign invaders in stream after stream from beyond the Sulaiman mountains. Ten times did swarms of Persians and Afghans pass across this country,

[1] "Revenue administration there was none; the cultivator followed the plough with a sword in his hand; the collector came at the head of a regiment; and if he fared well, another soon followed him to pick up the crumbs." (Karnal Gazetteer, 35-36.)

making their way through pools of blood, and leaving behind them ashes and ruins;[1] while every time their departure gave a signal to the people of this province to fly at one another's throat. The men of influence taking advantage of the universal anarchy of the time seized th opportunity to rise to power and amass wealth by warfare and depredation. They made themselves independent and plunged headlong into fighting with one another and robbing and murdering those weaker than themselves.[2] Might became the only test of right, and in the absence of any general controlling authority the country fell a victim to the ambition of rival chiefs, struggling for supremacy. The greater powers availed themselves of this general decay and, as a consequence, there ensued a constant struggle between the Marathas in the east, the Durranis in the west and the Sikhs in the centre for the possession of the plains of the Punjab.

[1] "Deserted sites all along the old main road still tell how even the strongest villagers had to abandon the spot where their fathers had lived for centuries and make to themselves new homes on sites less patent to the eyes of marauding bands." (Karnal Gazetteer, 35-36).

[2] "The Rulers of the country have so long rack-rented it; marauder after marauder has so long plundered it, and through the length and breadth of the land there has been so little motive for improvement or rather for ordinary tillage, that the wonder is whence so much yearly tribute is derived." (Calcutta Review, vol. ii. October-December, 1844, p.174).

"Tribe fought with tribe, chief with chief, and village with village. Society lived in a sort of trustless truce broken from time to time by treacherous murders and thievish forays." (Jhelum Gazetteer, 45).

2. Character of the People.

The terrible visitations of the execrable Nadir Shah and his ferocious successor Ahmad Shah brought no good to the country but continuous war and bloodshed. The foreign hordes had come and gone leaving in their wake dead bodies, plundered houses, deserted homesteads and desolated fields. But all these, being mere things of the hour, were soon forgotten by the people. They left, however, their permanent traces in the temperament of the people, who, as a result of these invasions added to the repression of their nominal rulers, became fierce, cruel, inconstant, defiant and restless in character. The furious contests for saving honour, life and property were so frequently indulged in by the people that they gradually acquired a taste for bloody actions. One feature, in the constitution of society as it then existed, participated in by Hindus and Muslims alike, was, therefore, the spirit of faction, and this spirit tinged all the transactions of life. This unhappy trait resulting in mutual quarrels, party strifes, bitter animosities and blood feuds, became a part of their character. An immediate appeal to arms was made in the event of a difference of opinion. They desired to cut the matter short by a stand up fight among themselves, and it often involved the loss of life and property.[1]

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[1] Forster who visited the Punjab in 1783 writes:—

"How strong the contrast appears in the inhabitants of the Punjab; those even of domestic and laborious professions, are brave, daring and often cruel. Brahmins are the usual soldiers of the country, many of whom eat flesh meat; and they never leave their home even when not employed in military service, without weapons of offence. The merchants and mechanicks,

Long years of misrule, impoverishment, grinding oppression and unrelieved misery on the other hand, made the people stony-hearted and tended to increase their selfishness and coldness of manner. The universal anarchy brought the whole society into a state of disintegration. Each man had his own standard of virtue, and whatever a man was able to do with impunity appeared to him right. The people felt a total disregard for the impropriety of thieving. No one considered it a disgrace. Whole villages, even whole clans, not only harboured notorious offenders, but openly associated together for this purpose, under the leadership of village headmen. Robbery, theft, arson and other crimes were boldly committed. So callous-hearted had they become that they had not the slightest pricking of conscience in seizing the lands and property of the widows and the orphans.[1] "Cheating, forgery and unnatural offences were considered good jokes."[2]

The people were so much and so frequently plundered by the invader that they became uneconomic in

when they go but a few miles abroad, are all strongly armed." (Vol. i. Preface, xi).

[1] Griffin's Law of inheritance to chiefship. 5. This state of affairs is thus described by a contemporary historian quoted by Tod :—"The people of Hindusthan at this period thought only of personal safety and gratification. Misery was disregarded by those who escaped it ; and man centered solely in self, felt not for his kind. This selfishness, destructive of public, as of private virtue, became universal in Hindusthan after the invasion of Nadir Shah ; nor have the people become more virtuous since and consequently are neither happy nor more independent." (Calcutta Review, vol. xviii. 1879, p.92.)

[2] Karnal Gazetteer, p.46, Sialkot Gaz. 41.

their habits. The helpless people of the Punjab dreaded the Afghans, those two-legged beasts, who proved no better than human wolves, torturing devils and merciless brutes. The terrible horrors committed by them still live vividly in the memory of the people, of which they are reminded by the famous couplet prevalent in the country up to the present day :—

"What we actually eat and drink is our own ; the rest is all Ahmad Shah's."[1]

Nobody could look upon anything in his possession as really his own. The money and ornaments were not secure though buried under ground, because they knew this custom and dug up floors in search of hoarded treasure. Whatever had remained with them or what they had gained during the intervals of the invasions, was seized by the exacting governors and plundering officials in lieu of the Government tax. This made the people thriftless on the one hand and idle vagabonds on the other, for they knew that they would not be able to retain the fruits of their labour. As a consequence, the people spent what they had and enjoyed good food, fine dresses, kept nice horses and lavishly squandered money on marriages. As regular markets for the fair-coloured beauties of the northern hills were held in Lahore, Jammu, Delhi and other great cities, rich men and wealthy Government officials were in the habit of replenishing their harems with these "rose-limbed slave girls".[2]

[1] Cf. Latif's Punjab, 301.

[2] Sarkar, ii. 348.

wooden bridge[1] one faced either a wall surrounding the village or outer walls of the houses completely closing towards it except where the streets debouched. The roads leading in were broad enough for carts to pass.

The doorways of the dwellings opened on the streets. Inside was a courtyard where the cattle were kept. Across this was a room where the household lived. It presented an appearance of great comfort on account of the light colour of the walls from constant hand-rubbing with a mixture of light clay and cow-dung. Here were found a corn-mill, a huge pestle and mortar of wood, a spinning wheel, a cotton cleaning machine, baskets, dishes and pots, and receptacles of grain made of mud lay scattered about in comfortable confusion.

Chickens in a Muslim village and pigs in a Jat village were seen rushing about in the streets, while lines of women and girls carrying up water in brass or earthen jars and children principally clad in sunshine, rolling in the dust and playing hockey, tip-cat or blind man's buff, attracted the attention of a stranger.

4. THE VILLAGE MEASURES OF DEFENCE.

The perfect insecurity of the times made the Punjab village a self-sufficient unit and measures of defence

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[1] Every village or town in the Punjab in those days was surrounded by a wall, the gates of which were shut during the night to prevent any sudden surprise either by the robbers or the enemy. This precaution was highly necessary in a country like the Punjab, the different portions of which frequently changed masters; and it was no uncommon occurrence to find one of its towns in a state of siege, while the surrounding country was in perfect peace. Cf. M'Gregor, vol. i. 5.

against predatory bands were taken in common. Almost every villager learnt riding, shooting, wrestling and the use of arms. Matchlocks were kept by the rich, while swords, spears, bows and arrows were found in every body's possession. Each village was provided with a ditch and a rampart[1], and as a rule there was a citadel inside. A good deal of the land belonging to the village was left uncultivated and it was used as a grazing ground for the cattle. Only that portion was brought under the plough which could easily be protected by the village. It was situated in its close vicinity. Round towers, from 50 to 80 feet high, were erected to guard the crops and wells dug for purposes of irrigation. The cattle at work in the fields and at the wells were guarded by matchlockmen who mounted into these towers by ladders of rope which they drew up after them. In them wood-work and bullocks were deposited during the night or on the approach of plunderers. This method was so effective that two or three matchlockmen could keep at bay a host of horsemen. Where there were no wells, there stood in the heart of the village one or more round towers according to the population and the size of the village. They were built either of mud or brick and were so high as to overlook the whole neighbourhood. A good look-out was always kept from these watch towers, and as soon as dust was seen rising in a large

[1] "All the villages in the Punjab are walled round". Malcolm, 105, footnote. The castle, built in a military style, of a quadrangular shape with lofty walls and turrets, stood as a rule in the centre of the village, and was peopled by the retainers of the chief. It was enclosed by a mud wall and sometimes had an outer ditch. Within it existed extensive stables. (Alexander Burnes' Travels, i.14).

quantity, the alarm drums were beaten loudly, summoning all the farmers, cowboys and others to seek shelter within the mud wall. The wooden planks were removed from the ditch and all were ready with matchlocks and other arms to face the calamity.[1]

Amid a cluster of villages one or more villages had sprung up which became notorious as the home of habitual thieves or regular robbers. The whole village or villages combined in predatory excursions and divided the booty equally among themselves. They lifted catle, stole property, plundered wayfarers and grazed their cattle on the green crops.[2] The other villages also committed such depredations, off and on, particularly when they were free from work in the fields, such as after harvests.[3]

The political upheaval of the period compelled the villagers to adopt some very striking measures in order to secure immunity from ordinary attacks. They organised inter-marriages with their caste-fellows in such a way that the whole village secured brides from another single

[1] Punjab Government Records, Delhi Residency and Agency, 1807-1857, vol. i. p, 112; Calcutta Review, vol. ii. October-December 1844, 190; Karnal Gazetteer, 46.

[2] "A single Jaut village of Kythal has been known to drive off, in open day, a thousand head of cattle from Nabha, Jheend, Puttiala or Kurnaul; and within the week, the herd are scattered among the villages of Meerut, or Saharanpore, a hundred miles off." (Calcutta Review, vol. ii. October-December 1844, pp. 202-203.

[3] Such happenings were observed by T. Fortescue, Civil Commissioner Delhi, which he communicated to Holt Mackenzie, Secretary to Government in the Territorial Department, in a letter dated 28th April, 1820.

village. Thus united by blood, they increased their strength and in times of emergency sought help from their relatives, and more often than not they were successful in repulsing attacks of the local faujdars or of plundering bands.[1] Another effective method was to seek protection of the robber chieftains of the neighbourhood on payment of a certain amount of money and rendering some services. This was a sort of contract agreed to by both the parties. The head of the marauders definitely undertook not to give such people any molestation and to protect them against any other robber or looter. Tribal feelings also revived at this time and attained almost the same position as in times of yore. The people depended for the safety of their honour, life and property on some chief of their own tribe and cherised a strong loyalty and fidelity for him. Among the Bilochis, the Pathans and the Jats of the frontier, the tribal feeling ran strong because their tribal organisation had not suffered any change due to the disturbed state of the country. The Rajputs also had retained practically the same tribal system. The Jats and Gujars of the Central Punjab had long forgotten it and its revival among them

[1] "By intermarriages and the necessity of a common cause the interests of several villages were identified, and thus leagued they were strong enough to oppose more regular and formidable foes. We know consequently of individual villages having frequently repulsed assaults from the local troops of the Amil and Faujdar and of the forces of many villages united by the Rooka (or particular loud cry of the voice) to have been equal to the complete defeat of the best appointed, the most numerous forces that the State could send against them. Such was the union, spirit and desperate bravery of the people." (Punjab Government Records, Delhi Residency and Agency, 1807-57, vol. i. 113).

took the form of leaders of Sikh bands. Wherever the tribal chiefs had grown weaker, the village community became stronger and it exercised nearly the same power, authority and rights as the only instrument of local self-government. The head of the tribe was supreme in the village or a group of villages and all others obeyed him. The artisans, shopkeepers and traders and others followed their professions as his humble servants and dependents.

5. Village Functionaries.

The sense of insecurity, scanty means of communication and the need of offering resistance to the wandering bands of banditti made the undeveloped Punjab village self-dependent. Each village turned into a small republic. At the head of the village was the lambardar who exercised the general superintendence over all the affairs of the village. He settled the disputes of the people, helped the police and collected revenue for the government. The patwari kept the accounts of the lands and registered everything connected with it. The duties of a watchman extended "to the arrest of offenders, general aid to the police, the maintenance of a watch over bad characters and suspicious persons and the general supply of local information."[1] The school master taught the children to read and write in the sand. The pandit or astrologer proclaimed the lucky and unlucky days for sowing, threshing or marriages. The mullah or maulvi led the prayers in the mosques, taught the children Persian and Arabic and performed other Muslim ceremonies. The smith and carpenter manufactured agricultural implements, made the wood-work of the

[1] Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. iv, Chapter 12, 39.

wells and built houses. The grocer supplied provisions, cloth and medicine, stored grain of the farmers, kept their accounts and advanced money and corn in cases of emergency, The barber cut the hair and served as a surgeon. The physician, the washerman, the potter, the mirasi, the dancing girl and the cowboy were the other functionaries of the village. Their remuneration consisted either of a rent-free land or a definite share of the produce of the fields. The artisans were regarded as public servants of the village community and were required to serve all the members on demand.

6. The Panchayat.

The noblest feature of the village life was the existence of the Panchayat system, which efficiently worked even in the days of anarchy and confusion. The Panchayat was the assembly or council for determining the village affairs and consisted of most respectable representatives of tried virtue. "In ordinary cases one or two *moquddums* or others, friends or neighbours of the party, sufficed. In weighty affairs, or when the party was not convinced, more were called in, and the question would thus proceed till the sense of a majority set the matter at rest."[1] As a rule there was no division in the Panchayat. Discussion there was ample, often eloquent and loud, but eventually the opinions of the more influential members

[1] Punjab Government Records, Delhi Residency and Agency, 1807-1857, vol. 1. p. 121.

The English system of administering justice, as compared with it, was considered by the Indians of those days as 'tedious, vexatious and expensive, and advantageous only to clever rogues". Malcolm, 128, footnote.

prevailed and the weaker acquiesced in it and the result was a unanimous decision.

The Panchayat maintained perfect justice and equity in the village. They restrained the stronger and helped the weaker against any aggression. As the Panchayat sprang up and proceeded from the people themselves, its decisions were implicitly obeyed. Though it was not backed by any physical force, yet the social pressure brought to bear upon the offender was so overwhelming that even the most refractory member of the community heard and bore the severest punishment,[1] with calm and satisfied looks. In case of disobedience to the Panchayat's decision the culprit was declared an outcaste and all the members of the village community refused to associate with him for fear of the same punishment. The village functionaries rendered him no assistance, so much so that the menials too refused all service. No evidence is available to accuse a panchayat of misconduct and corruption. The very feeling that one was acting as a tribunal for one's own men and in that capacity was responsible to God, made one honest and just.[2]

[1] The punishment was never capital. Malcolm, 128.

[2] "Injustice or partiality is not charged to these tribunals, as consequent or general, and it is no weak proof in their favour that we found a perfect equality amongst the people in rank and fortune. Though some among them had more beeghas of land and wealth than others within their society, yet the owners thereof had no proportionate power, nor did excess of either produce any." (Punjab Government Records, Delhi Residency and Agency, 1807-1857, vol. i. p. 121).

Chas. Elliot, Agent to the Governor-General in his Report on Lapsed and Reserved Sikir and Hill States, submitted in 1824, writes to the same effect :—

Besides administering justice, a panchayat rendered valuable and important material help to the members of the village community. This fact is corroborated by T. Fortescue, Civil Commissioner, Delhi, in his report dated 1820. He says:—"No instances occur of a proprietor being driven from the village by oppression or violence of one or any number of other shares; on the contrary, it is observable that they tender each other the most friendly and essential aids when in distress. They will supply cattle, till the lands themselves, contribute money when a sharer has been really unfortunate, and they will assist him in the disposal of his produce in providing seed, bullocks, and implements, should they be satisfied with him. This feeling, as I have before stated in paragraph 23, is extended to the widow and necessitous family of a deceased sharer, and its effects scarcely surpassed."[1]

7. EDUCATION.

It has already been noted that the school teacher had a definite place in the village community. Free education and in some cases free board and lodging for

"I cannot call to recollection a single instance, during ten years' experience in these States, of a Panchait being convicted of bribery and the common phrase 'Punchait men Purmesur' imposed respect upon the arbitrators and stamps their decisions. The members selected are generally the oldest inhabitants of the town or village, of most approved probity and experience, and their award is either verbal, or written as may best please the parties." (Ibid, p. 242).

[1] Punjab Government Records, Delhi Residency and Agency, 1807-57, vol. i. p. 122. ("The village communities, while they held the property of their own society sacred, habitually committed

the students formed an important part of the village life. Three kinds of schools existed in the Punjab villages where inhabitants of all the three communities—Hindu, Muslim and Sikh—resided. The Hindu *pathshala* was the oldest institution where almost secular instruction either in Hindi or in Lande Mahajani (a script mostly used in money dealings) or in both was imparted. The Muslim *maktabs* often held in mosques were conducted by the Mullah or the *maulvi* or the Hafiz. He imparted spiritual instruction in Arabic, and the students were made to commit to memory a portion of the Qoran. Persian was also taught both to the Muslims and the Hindus—this being the official language. The Gurmukhi schools of the Sikhs, very often held in the *dharmsalas*, also aimed at spiritual education.

The position of the school teachers of the *maktab* and the Gurmukhi school was definite and as they had certain lands assigned to the mosque or Gurdwara or dharmsala, they were able to meet their own expenses as well as those of the school. Moreover, they could supplement their petty income by some extra charges for their services at the time of a wedding or a festival. The teacher of the Hindu pathsala was, on the other hand, in a precarious state. He did not impart religious education as the study of the Shastras was forbidden except to the Brahmans and this they learnt at home from their parents. Consequently no lands were assigned to his school and he had to depend for his living on the charity of his pupils, who in turn supplied him food and on

depredations and aggressions on other villages or on travellers, and generally shared the plunder they obtained with the ruling power or principal local authority." Karnal Gazetter, 35-36).

festival days or other occassions such as marriage presented him a complete dress or a part of it or gave gifts in cash or kind. He stuck to his post in the village as long as he succeeded in making both ends meet; but when these sources dwindled down or failed, he could not help closing down his school and migrating to some other village where he could expect better prospects for the means of his livelihood.[1]

Yet in spite of all these facilities the people were as a rule illiterate because the general requirements of the times compelled the people to give up literary pursuits. In many cases the common run of the people in villages could not count up to 100 and represented 64 as three score and four [2]

8. Modes of Irrigation.

In the Punjab, where the rainfall is scarce and uncertain, the soil requires water in order to be productive. Hence in a territory away from the influence of the river landed possessions were calculated not by measurements, but by the number of wells; and each well, as has been remarked above, was protected by a tower, into which the husbandman flew in case of emergency. The greater the number of wells on one's ground, the richer one was.[3]

As to the means of raising water there were two kinds of wells; the rope-and-bucket and the Persian wheel.

[1] For a detailed description ot Desi schools, see Ambala Gazetteer, 35-37.

[2] Risala-i-Sahib-Numa of Ganesh Das, quoted by Karam Singh in Phulwari, August 1928, pp. 727-28.

[3] Cf. Calcutta Review, 1844, vol. ii. October-December, p. 190.

It was not merely the depth of the spring level that practically decided the question for the agriculturist which he would use ; but it was also a matter of custom and traditional habit. Another fact which also counted in settling this issue was the difference in the division of labour, between the man and the animal.

The other two methods were by flow and lift. The latter was decidedly better because it implied a higher level of land to be irrigated ; while in the former there was the danger of water-logging.

The parts of the country lying under or near the hills were irrigated by bunds. The water of the rainfall was so regulated as to water a particular cultivated area permanently, allowing surplus water to drain off. This system was also applicable to a large area.[1]

9. Poverty of the people.

The people of the Punjab were on the whole, very poor. It was due to several factors. The plunder and pillage of the invaders as well as of the refractory people of the country had reduced them to poverty. This state was further aggravated by the exorbitant demand of revenue by the Government. Vicissitude of season resulting in the failure of crops, expenses on marriages and funerals, and ill-luck with cattle or personal illness were other causes responsible for it.

If any zamindar of the Punjab, however, led a moderately prosperous life, he had little margin for him to fall back upon in bad times. In ordinary years and with ordinary expenses he could generally pay his way,

[1] Cf. Ali-ud-din, 24b-25a ; Prinsep, 205-206.

but the menace of some outside danger was always hanging on his head.

10. FAIRS.

The fairs in India did not generally originate for purposes of trade. They had a religious origin, but these gatherings were converted into a holiday by the pleasure-seekers and recreation-hunters ; and when thousands of people were collected at one place, it was natural for traders to come and sell their wares. The fairs were a great feature in the social life of the people. They broke the monotony of their life and gave them a good deal of innocent amusement and relaxation. Young, old, father, mother, and children all enjoyed them when, decked in their best clothes, they trudged along together, giving a merry laugh now and then, singing, dancing and leaping out of glee. The people enjoyed a large number of fairs which took place periodically in various parts of the country.[1]

[1] Chahar Gulshan gives a long account of *melas* out of which 15 took place near Delhi. At this remarkable description, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar remarks :—

"As we read the account of these numberless fairs and gatherings round Delhi, we almost forget that the *Chahar Gulshan* was written in 1759. The gay and fickle butterflies of the Capital seem to have turned the year into one long holiday and spent their lives in a round of merry-making and sight-seeing, as if Nadir-Shah's invasion were not a thing of living memory to them and the spear of the Maratha and the long knife of the Durrani Afghan, did not yearly glitter before their eyes." (*India of Aurangzib*), Anandram Mukhlis describes at great length the annual fair at Garh Mukteshwar, which even Muhammad Shah the Emperor attended.

11. TRADE.

With regard to its foreign trade the Punjab does not occupy a good position. The countries situated in the north, west and south of it are all sparsely populated and do not therefore hold a large number of consumers to make them good markets for the products of the Punjab.[1] The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh which is in the east, though a valuable market, is useless to the Punjab, because it grows the same kind of commodities. On the other hand its rivers gave no access to the sea and they were also not easily navigable. Therefore we could not expect much of external trade; but whatever of it there would have been was almost entirely checked by the anarchy of the time. All the trade routes in the plains were closed and only a little trade was diverted to the hills, andme rchants proceeding to Kashmir and Afghanistan adopted a route which entered the outer range of the Siwalik Hills near Dehra Dun and passed through Nahan, Bilaspur, Haripur, Nurpur, Basohli and Jammu.[2]

The roads were bad. Stone metalling was unknown. One stuck in the mud when it rained and in the sand when it did not. Rivers were unbridged. Only ferries

[1] It was Tibet, Kashmir, Ladakh and Turkistan in the north, N. W. F. Province, Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Iran in the West; and Rajputana and Bikaner in the south.

[2] The centres of population had shifted from the plains of the Punjab to the riverine tracts and submontane regions which were generally beyond the easy reach of the invader. Thus 'out of 221 villages in pargana Karnal, the inhabitants of 178 had been wholly driven from their homes and fields.' (Karnal Gazetteer, 35). Journal of the Punjab Historical Society, vol. iii. No. 2 1915, p. 117.

were in use on the large rivers at certain places. Travelling was unsafe. The routes were infested by robbers and thieves and even great serais where the travellers halted in the night, were not out of danger.

On the establishment of Sikh rule in the plains of the Punjab, the situation with regard to trade did not improve much. The Sikhs, aware of the advantages of a thriving trade, tried to extend protection to the merchants who took shelter with them ; but they were obstructed in their progress and were harassed by the demands of heavy duties while passing through the territories of various independent Sikh chiefs.[1] Forster on pp. 337-38 of his vol.i says, "Merchants of every nation or sect, who may introduce a traffick into their territories, or are established under their government, experience a full protection, and enjoy commercial privileges in common with their own subjects. At the same time it must be noticed, that such immunities are granted only to those who remain amongst them, or import wares for the immediate supply of the Sicque markets. But the foreign traders, or even travellers, who attempt to pass through the Punjab, are often plundered, and usually ill-treated."

A little, trade, however, was carried on between the Punjab and the neighbouring countries, the account of which is supplied to us by a contemporary writer who writes :—"An open trade with this country from every

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[1] "An extensive and valuable commerce is also maintained in their country, which has been extended to distant quarters of India ; particularly to the provinces of Bengal and Behar, where many Sicque merchants of opulence at this time reside." (Forster, i. 337). Browne, Introduction, ix.

part of Hindoostaun has long since ceased, but petty merchants by applying for passports from the respective chiefs of the Seik territories previous to entering their boundaries, are generally supplied with them and by this means still continue a trifling commercial intercourse. Their exports[1] to the countries west of the Attock consist of sugar, rice, indigo, wheat, and white cloth. Their imports from those countries are swords, horses, fruit, lead and spices. Their exports to Cashmere may be considered nearly the same as into Persia. Their imports from Cashmere are shawls and a variety of cloths, saffron and fruit. With the inhabitants of the mountains they exchange cloth, matchlocks, and horses, for iron and other inferior commodities ; from the Deccan are imported sulphur, indigo, salt, lead, iron, Europe coarse broad cloth, and spices : their exports are horses, camels, sugar, rice, white cloth, matchlocks, swords, and bows and arrows."[2]

12. SIKH RULE.

By the time we close our period, the Sikhs had established their rule in the major portion of the Punjab, but they could not naturally be expected to have developed their government so fully as to require a detailed and critical account. We will therefore give here only a cursory view. Sikh rule though " aristocratical, irregular and imperfect",[3] on the whole proved a blessing to the

[1] "Of their manufacture, the principal are very fine cloths, which they make at Lahore, as also the best arms in Hindostan." Browne, Introduction, ix.

[2] Memoirs of George Thomas, 253-54.

[3] Browne, Introduction, vi.

people weary of long and perpetual warfare and anarchy in the country. The foreign invasions had nearly come to an end. The Delhi Government was weak and helpless. The only danger which could thwart them was that of internal disorder, but it was checked by their strong and vigorous measures. Hence they easily succeeded in bringing peace and order out of chaos and confusion.[1]

The Sikhs had established a kind of feudal government in the country. The whole country was parcelled out among twelve big chiefs who had under them a horde of minor sardars. They again commanded numerous subordinates, till the common troopers were reached. All of these had a number of villages assigned to them according to their position.

Each Sikh chief was independent of others, and had direct dealings with the neighbouring independent States. Each sardar had some officers to register political correspondence, while the ecclesiastical affairs were administered by the Akalis who were in charge of the Temple and the Tank of Amritsar. This "society of religieuse," however, did not interfere in the temporal authority of the Sikh chiefs.[2]

The absolute form of government of the Sikh chiefs did not degenerate into maladministration, as is testified to by the contemporary account of George Thomas who states :—"Within his own domains each chief is lord

[1] "The Seiks, in the interior parts of their country, preserve good order and a regular government." Francklin's Shah Aulum, 77).

"In truth, there is very little oppression on the part of the governors or thanadars." (Hugel, 150).

[2] Forster, i 331.

the Sikhs had to endure at their hands; but as time passed on, they became more and more tolerant.[1]

[1] "The Sicques are not rigorous in their stipulations with the Mahometan proselytes, to whom, if they abstain from beef's fle h (which is held in equal abhorrence by the Sicques as by the Hindoos), and perform the more ostensible duties, as burning their dead, and preserving the hair of the head, an indulgent latitude is granted in all the other articles of tne creed of Nanock. The Mahometans who reside in the Punjab, are subject to occasional oppression and often to the insult of the lower classes of the people; among whom it is not an uncommon practice to defile the places of worship, by thowing in the carcases of hogs and other things held impure by the Musulman law. The Mahometans are also prohibited from announcing their stated times of prayer, which conformably to their usage, is proclaimed in a loud tone of voice. A Sicque who in the chase shall have slain a wild hog, is frequently known to compel the first Mahometan he meets to carry to his home the body of the animal; and, on being initiated into the rites of their religion, the Sicques will sometimes require a Mahometan convert to bind on his arm the tusk of a boar, that, by this act of national impurity, he may the more avowedly testify a renunciation and contempt of the tenets of his former faith. These facts will sufficiently mark the haughty and insulting demeanour, which, with few deviations, forms a prominent feature in the character of the military Sicques; but we may also ascribe a certain portion of their severe and contumelious treatment of the Mahometans, to a rememberance of recent injuries." (Forster, i. 338-39).

"Yet the Seiks are a most tolerant nation, and evince a merciful cosideration in the differences of religion, that forms a bright contrast to their Mahommedan neighbours." Burnes, *Travels*, i. 11, ii. 286.

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Rieu.	Catalogue of Persian manuscripts of the Br. M. L.
I. O. L.	India Office Library.
Ethe	Catalogue of Persian manuscripts of I. O. L.
E. D.	History of India as told by her own Historians, edited by Elliot and Dowson.
A. S. B.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. A. S. B.	Journal of the A. S. B.
I. H. Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J. N. S.	Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's Library, Darjeeling.
P. P. L.	Punjab Public Library, Lahore.
P. U. L.	Punjab University Library, Lahore.
K. C. L.	Khalsa College Library, Amritsar.
D. S. L.	Bhai Dit Singh Library, Firozepur.
O. P. L. B.	Oriental Public Library, Bankipur.
I. L. C.	Imperial Library, Calcutta.

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7. *Khush-hal-Chand.—Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi* or *Nadir-uz-Zamani*—Khush-hal Chand, munshi in the Diwani office at Delhi 1741-P. P. L. Gives useful details about Muhammad Shah's administration.

8. *Anandram-Tazkira-i-Anandram Mukhlis*-Anandram of Lahore, Secretary to the Delhi Wazir Qamr-ud-Din Khan-1748-J. N. S. ms. in three parts :— (i) Nadir Shah's invasion, (ii) Expedition to Bangarh (iii) First campaign of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

9. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi.*—anonymous-1748-1754-Br. M. L. Ms. J. N. S. rotograph. The author "was present at all times and saw with his own eyes the utter misery of the Emperor Ahmad Shah and wept."

10. *Zafar Namah.*—Ghulam Muhi-ud-din—1750-P. U. L. Ms. supplies some information about the first two invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

11. *Miscellaneous Papers in S. P. D.*—reports from Maratha agents in Delhi and other important places in Northern India—available from 1752 onward—absolutely original in dates and events.

12. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*—anonymous, 1754-59-Br. M. L. Ms. J. N. S. rotograph—the best and most detailed contemporary work on the reign of Alamgir Sani.

13. *Samin*—The fourth invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali-Sheikh Ghulam Hasan (pen-name Samin), 1756-57, trans. by W. Irvine in *Indian Antiquary*, 1907. It is the account of an eye-witness.

14. *Jahan Kusha.*—*Jahan Kusha-i-Nadiri*—Muhammad Mahdi Ali Khan, private secretary to Nadir Shah—1758—printed Bombay, 1875, contains a circumstantial narrative of Nadir Shah's invasion.

15. *Maasir-ul-Umara.* 3 volumes—Shah Nawaz Khan Samsam-ud-daulah—1758—published by A. S. B., a biographical Dictionary of the Mughal peerage from Akbar's time till the middle of the 18th century.

16. *Chahar Gulshan*, also known as *Akhbar-un-Nawadir.*—Rai Chatarman in the service of Delhi Wazir Imad-ul-mulk-1759-P. U.-L.Ms. The work is divided into four parts; the third deals with the roads branching off from Delhi to the chief towns in different parts in India, giving distances and stages, while the fourth treats of the biographies of Hindu saints, Sikh Gurus and Muslim faqirs. Trans in J. N. Sarkar's *India of Aurangzib* (1901).

17. *C. P. C.*—Calendar of Persian Correspondence, vol. i. 1759-1767 and vol. ii. 1767-1769—translated and published by the Imperial Record Department, Calcutta (i. 1911 and ii. 1914). These are letters, which passed between some of the English East India Company's servants and Indian Rulers and Notables. They supply absolutely correct dates and minute details about important events of Northern India, such as the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

18. *Tarikh-i-Manazil-ul-Fatuh*. Muhammad Jafar Shamlu—about 1761—Br. M. Ms., J. N. S. rotograph. The author accompanied Ahmad Shah in several of his Indian campaigns and was present at the battle of Panipat. His description of the various stages between Kandahar and Delhi, where Ahmad Shah as a rule halted, is very useful.

19. *Khazana-i-Amira.*—Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami—1762-63—printed at the Nawal Kishore Press, Cawnpore in 1871. The author who also travelled in the Punjab supplies us with original information about the Sikh capture of Lahore in 1761, date of Ghallu Ghara and Alha Singh's help to the Marathas at Panipat.

20. *Jang Namah.*—Qazi Nur Muhammad—1765-K. C. L. Ms. It is an extremely valuable work, giving the most original account of the eighth invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1764-65). The Qazi came in the invader's train at the desire of his chief Nasir Khan Baluch, the Khan of Kalat, to reccrd the events of the campaign. It is written in poetry covering 226 pages.

21. *Nur-ud-din.—Tarikh-i-Najib-ud-daulah*-Sayyid Nur-ud-din Husain Khan, a personal servant of the Delhi Wazir Imad-ul-mulk-1773-Br. M. L. Ms., J. N. S. rotograph, also Sarkar's translation in I. H. Q. and Islamic Culture, 1933. It supplies us with the most accurate, original and contemporary account of some of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions, Sikh raids across the Jumna and Najib's expeditions against the Sikhs.

22. *Shiva Parshad.—Tarikh-i-Farah-bakhsh*-Shiva Parshad—1776-P. P. L. Ms.— Rieu, i. 306, iii. 959; Ethe, i. 584; E. D. viii. 175-79. Rieu and Elliot call the work Tarikh-i- Faizbakhsh. It is a history of the Rohillas, but throws side-lights on the Punjab affairs. Eng. tr. by Hoey.

23. *Kashiraj.*—The account of the last battle of Panipat and the events leading to it—Kashiraj—1780—Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's translation in I. H. Q., 1934, of a Ms. dated 1785, made by Sarkar in order to correct "Browne's unreliable translation,

reprinted (from Asiatic Researches, 1799) by Oxford University Press in 1926." Kashiraj, a trusted servant of Shuja-ud-daulah, was present in this battle.

24. *Miskin.—Tazkira-i-Tahmasp Miskin*—Tahmasp Khan Miskin-1780- Br. M. L. Ms., J. N. S. rotograph. The author lived in Lahore as a personal attendant of Muin-ul-mulk (1748-53) and of his wife, the Mughlani Begam (1753-58). He spent four years more (1758-62) in the Punjab at Sialkot, Jammu and Sirhind. Miskin participated in almost all the expeditions led by various chiefs against the Sikhs during this period, a ve y graphic and vivid account of all of which is given by him. This the most useful work about the Punjab history of this period.

25. *Shakir.—Tazkira-i-Shakir Khan.*—Shakir Khan, the 4th son of Amir Shams-ud-daulah Lutfullah Khan Bahadur, a mansab-dar of 7,000 and Governor of Delhi at the time of Nadir's invasion, held the rank of *Bakhshi* in Risala Sultani and rose to be a Diwan in the reign of Shah Alam II.—about 1780. J. N. S. ms—Rieu, i. 279. It is a history of the author's observ-vations from the accession of Muhammad Shah to that of Shah Alam II. It gives only brief references to the Punjab affairs.

26. *Bayan.—Bayan-i-Waki-i-Khwajah Abdul Karim Kashmiri*—1784—P. U. L. ms. The author gives an account of Nadir's invasion and the first campaign of the Abdali.

27. *Ashub.—Tarikh-i-Kharoj-i-Nadir Shah-ba-Hindustan,* alias Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi, vol. ii.—Muhammad Bakhsh Ashub, foster-brother of Emperor Muhammad Shah—1785—I. O. L. ms., J. N. S. copy. It is an elaborate work on the invasion of Nadir Shah and the first incursion of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

28. *Bihari Lal.—Ahwal-i-Najib-ud-daulah Amir-ul-Umara Sabit Jang*—Bihari Lal—1787—Hyderabad ms., J. N. S. copy. The author was a nephew of the munshi to Najib-ud-daulah. This work is inferior to that of Nur-ud-din on the same subject. Trans. by Sarkar in *I. H. Q.*

26. *Ghulam Ali.—Shah Alam Nama*-Ghulam Ali. (the son of that Bhikari Khan, who was murdered in Lahore by Mughlanī Begam in 1758) 1788—First part (down to 1761) printed by A. S. B. The author gives circumstantial evidence about Lahore affairs. I. O. L. ms. (J. N. S.)

MARATHI.

The Marathi records are not regular histories, but only news-letters and reports. As such, however, they are of very great value, giving us a good deal of original material with exact dates not available in the Persian histories of the period. These letters come to our assistance frequently from 1758 onward, when the Marathas held this province in their occupation. Much of this matter has been printed and the rest is seeing the light of the day gradually.

1. *S. P. D.*—Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, 45 vols. edited by G. S. Sardesai. vols. 2, 21, 27 & 29 in Marathi and "Miscellaneous Papers" in Persian have been chiefly drawn upon.

2. *Rajwade.—Marathanchya Itihasachin Sadanen*, 21 vols., edited by V. K. Rajwade and others.

FRENCH.

1. *Wendel.*—History of the Jats—F. X. Wendel—1768—I. O. L. Orme ms. O. V. 216; J. N. S. copy—Father Xavier Wendel was a Jesuit missionary at Agra and also news-agent of the English. He was a contemporary of Surajmal and Jawahir Singh and paid frequent visits to Bharatpore. The work gives useful details about the relations between the Jats and the Sikhs.

ENGLISH.

The English were at Calcutta when they heard about the doings of the Sikhs in the Punjab. The far-sighted statesmen of the British Government could not lose sight of such an important people; and consequently they began to take a keen interest in

their life and character. We come across references to this effect as early as 1767 when the Sikhs were offering a stout resistance to Ahmad Shah Abdali, then on his last campaign (Cf. C. P. C. ii.) With the beginning of the eight'es of the 18th century began their systematic attempt to acquire more and more knowledge about the Sikhs and this quest continued as late as the seventies of the 19th century when Sir Lepel Griffin compiled his celebrated works entitled "The Rajas of the Punjab" and "The Punjab Chiefs." We are, therefore, very much indebted to the British Government for our present knowledge of the Sikhs.

1. *Colonel Polier's account of the Sikhs.*—Colonel Polier, compiled an account of the Sikhs in the early eighties of the 18th century. This Ms. was never printed, but it is quoted to some extent by Forster in his vol. i. There is also an article in the *Asiatic Annual Register* 1802 under the caption, "A character of the Seiks from the observations of Colonel Polier and Mr. Forster."

2. *Forster.—A Journey from Bengal to England* (1782-83), 2 volumes ; by George Forster, an employee in the civil service of the East India Company in Madras. Forster travelled in the guise of an Indian Muslim merchant through the Punjab along the northerly route, skirting the lower spurs of the Himalayas. He acquired as much knowledge about the Sikhs as he could and presented a fairly accurate picture of their character which indicates the writer's power of keen observation and judgment.

3. *Browne.*—History of the origin and progress of the Sicks in *India Tracts*, by Major James Browne. Written in September 1787 and printed in 1788, I. L. C. The author was the English minister at the Court of Shah Alam at Delhi and during his stay there "acquired a knowledge of the strength, resources, disposition, and constitution" of the " great irregular Aristocracy of the Sicks" The book gives a systematic account of the Sikhs. It has, however, some inaccuracies.

4. *George Thomas.—Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas,* compiled and arranged from Mr. Thomas's original docu-

ments by William Francklin. Printed at the Hurkaru Press, Calcutta in 1803. George Thomas was a noted free-lance who carved out for himself an independent principality in the south-eastern corner of the Punjab and established his capital at George Garh. Long before settling in the Punjab, "whilst in the service of Begum Sumroo, he had encountered the Seiks on more than one occasion," and so knew them well. His account of the Sikhs, therefore, from the point of view of originality, is valuable.

5. *Malcolm.—Sketch of the Sikhs*, by Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, printed by John Murray, London, 1812. The author was in the train of Lord Lake when the latter pursued Holkar to the Punjab. Malcolm collected information and materials, wrote this account and published it in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xi., pp. 197-293. It gives trustworthy details about the Sikhs.

SECONDARY SOURCES.

PERSIAN.

1. *Farhat.—Farhat-un-Nazirin*-Muhammad Aslam—1770—Kapurthala State Library Ms., P. U. L. rotograph. The author, an employee of Shuja-ud-daulah.

2. *Siyar.—Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*—Sayyid Ghulam Husain—1782—Calcutta edition of 1833 cited—P. P. L., a comprehensive history of India from 1707 to 1782. The work supplies us with a detailed account of the Sikhs and other Punjab affairs, most of which seems to have been taken from Khazana-i-Amira.

3. *Chahar Gulzar.—Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai*-Harcharndas—1784—P. U. L. Ms.-Rieu, iii. 912, E. D. viii. 204-31. The author, who was in service of Shuja-ud-daulah, dedicated this work to his master. He gives a good account of the Sikh raids across the Jumna.

4. *Husain Shahi.—Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi*—Sayyid Imam-ud-din Husaini—1798—O. P. L. B. Ms., J. N. S. copy cited. The work is a biography of Ahmad Shah Abdali; but is not absolutely trustworthy.

5. *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan.*—anonymous—1806—Br. M. L. Ms., P. U. L. rotograph—Rieu, iii. 1044. It is a biography of Adina Beg Khan. Dates often incorrect.

6, *Bakhtmal.*—*Khalsa Namah*-Diwan Bakhtmal—1807—Professor Sri Ram of the D. A. V. College Lahore kindly lent his copy to me. Rieu, i. 294. It is a detailed history of the Sikhs and is very valuable. Sir John Malcolm used it as one of his authorities in the compilation of his "Sketch of the Sikhs."

7. *Khushwaqt Rai.*—*Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Punjab*—Khushwaqt Rai—1812—P. P. L. Ms. Rieu. i. 294. The author was the agent and intelligencer of the British Government at Amritsar and compiled this valuable work at the desire of Sir Charles Metcalfe. The narrative comes down to 1811, and is very full in respect of the early history of the Sikh sardars, and contains much information and useful matter. It was freely consulted by Prinsep for his "Orig;n of the Sikh power in the Punjab" and by Murray for "Memorial of Captain Murray."

8. *Sohan Lal.*—*Umdat-ut-Twarikh*—Sohan Lal Suri—1812—printed at the Arya Press Lahore in 1885. The author was the court chronicler of Maharajah Ranjit Singh; but his early account is based on the records kept by his father Ganpat Rai, who had served Ranjit Singh's father and grandfather. It also seems probable that Sohan Lal made a free use of Bakhtmal's *Khalsa Namah.* It is strange that the appendix to Sohan Lal's vol. i. is an exact copy of Ahmad Shah's *Tarikh-i-Punjab,* pp. 901 to 1014. Cf. No. 11 infra.

9. *Ibrat Miqal.*—Abdul Karim Kashmiri—1816—P. P. L. Ms. The work is a general history of Shah Alam, but gives useful information about the Sikhs.

10. *Irshad-ul-Mustqim.*—Aman-ul-Haq—1818—P. P. L. Ms. The work is a general history of Islam, India and the Nizams of Hyderabad, but many useful details are also available about the Punjab.

11. *Ahmad Shah.*—*Tarikh-i-Punjab*—Ahmad Shah of Batala—1820—Dyal Singh Library, Lahore. It is a detailed history of

the Punjab, and extremely useful information about the Sikhs with special reference to the Kanhaya and Ramgarhiya Misls is available. About its pages 901 to 1014 see No. 8 supra.

12. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*,—Ahmad Yadgar—1835—P. P. L. Ms. E. D. v. No. xxxiv. gives a different description of the work. This voluminous work deals with the Afghan families in India and gives a good account of the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah.

13. *Ratan Chand.—Khalis Namah*—Ratan Chand—1843—kindly lent by Professor Sri Ram of the D. A. V. College Lahore. The author was a munshi to the celebrated Sardars of Atari. It is a history of the Sikhs.

14. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad.*—alias *Muharbat-i-Salatin-i-Durrani*-Abdul-Karim Ulwi—1847—printed at the Mustfai Press Cawnpur in 1849. The author was in the service of the British Government at Ludhiana and was sent on a diplomatic mission to Khorasan. The work gives a good account of the Abdali's wars with the Sikhs.

15. *Buti Shah.—Tarikh-i-Punjab*-Ghulam Muhiyud-din alias Buti Shah—1848—P. U. L. Ms. Rieu, iii. 953 ; Ethe, i. 503 The author, an employee of the British Government, compiled this huge work at the desire of Colonel Ochterlony who provided him with the materials collected from various Sikh chiefs. It is divided into six parts. The first, treating of topography and the fifth, dealing with the history of the Sikh Sardars of the 18th century, are very useful.

16. *Ganesh Das.—Risala-i-Sahib Numa* or *Char Bagh-i-Punjab*-Ganesh Das—1849—K. C. L. Ms. Rieu, iii. 952. The author belonged to a distinguished family of Qanungos in the Gujrat district of the Punjab. The work is a history of the Punjab upto 1849. It contains a detailed topographical description and useful account of the Sikhs.

17. *Ali-ud-din.—Ibrat Namah*-Mufti Ali-ud-din of Lahore—1854—I. O. L. Ms. No. 3241 (E. 504), P. U. L. rotograph. The author

was in the service of the British Government. The work is a geographical, statistical and historical description of the Punjab, with a detailed history of the Sikhs from their origin to 1849.

18. *Shah Yusaf.—Halat-i-Multan*-Shah Yusaf—1861—P. P L. Ms. The author, a resident of Multan, compiled this work, at the desire of Colonel George William Hamilton, Commissioner of Multan Division. It is a history of the Multan province from early times to the date of its composition.

19. *Tarikh-i-Jhang Siyal.*—Maulvi Nur Muhammad 1865, printed at the Ahmadi Press Meerut, K. C. L. copy used. Rieu, i. 295. It is a short history of the Jhang district and gives a good account about the Sikh conquest and occupation of this district.

URDU.

1. *Tulsi Ram.—Twarikh-i-Izla-i-Anru-i-Sutlej-Tulsi Ram*, 1856.
2. *Goshai Punjab.—Radha Kishan* 1861.
3. *Hayat-i-Afghani.—Muhammad Hayat Khan* 1865.
4. *Tarikh-i-Sikhan.—Sarup Lal*, alias, *Gobind Saran Qanungo* 1865 P. P. L. Ms.
5. *Dastur-ul-Amal Mulk-i-Mahfuz.—Sarup Lal* 1865 P. P. L. Ms.
6. *Tarikh-i-Sidhu.—Atar Singh*, chief of Bhadaur State 1867 P. P. L. Ms.
7. *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Punjab.—Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Qureshi* of Lahore 1868.
8. *Sair-i-Punjab.—Kitab-i-Sair-i-Punjab*, vol. i. by *Kale Rai* of Sultanpur Chaklana, E. A. C. of Ambala District, vol, ii. by Tulsi Ram (Cf. No. 1 supra), Kale Rai's brother.
9. *Saulat-i-Afghani.—Haji Muhammad Zardar Khan.*
10. *Tarikh-i-Patiala,—Khalifa Sayyid Muhammad Hasan*, Prime Minister of the State.
11. *Shamshir Khalsa.—Gyan Singh Gyani*—1878.
12. *Raj Khalsa*, 2 vols.—*Gyan Singh Gyani*—1878.
13. *Tarikh-i-Lahore.—Kanhaya Lal*, 1884.
14. *Tarikh-i-Punjab. Kanhaya Lal.*

GURMUKHI.

1. *Ratan Singh.—Prachin Panth Parkash*—Ratan Singh, about 1830—printed at the Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar in 1914. The author was the grandson of the famous Mahtab Singh, the slayer of Massa Ranghar of Amritsar. His mother was a daughter of Sham Singh, the leader of the Karorasinghia Misl. His father Rai Singh had accompanied his father-in.law on most of his plundering expeditions. Ratan Singh's work, based on his father's account, ranks almost as a first-rate authority, When Buti Shah was writing his History of the Punjab, Ratan Singh approached Captain Murray with the proposal to get the history of the Sikhs written by a Sikh. The Captain agreed. Consequently Ratan Singh compiled his *Panth Parkash* which he narrated to Murray piece by piece as he was getting along his compilation. It is chiefly a history of the author's family, but all the important events of Sikh history during the 18th century are woven round his family anecdotes. Ratan Singh is very accurate in dates and his account of the Sikhs is extremely valuable. This work is the first attempt made by a Sikh to compile a Sikh history and is of supreme importance for a Sikh historian to compare the Muslim and Sikh points of view together.

2. *Gyan Singh.—Panth Parkash*—Gyani Gyan Singh—first printed in 1880 at the Murtazwi Press, Delhi. Later edition cited. This voluminous work, written in Punjabi poetry, is a complete Sikh history full of minute details based upon Buti Shah, Ratan Singh and traditional accounts which the author collected from old men of his time by travelling all over the province.

5. *Itihas-i-Ramgarhiyan*, vol. i.—Surat Singh and Darbara Singh, printed at the Empire Press, Lahore, in 1915. The book gives useful information about Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, the leader of the Ramgarhia Misl.

4. *Karam Singh.—Maharajah Alha Singh*—Karam Singh—1918—published by the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar. The author was a famous Sikh historian and critical research scholar. It

was due to him that Nur Muhammad's *Jang Namah* was brought to the notice of the world. The book is based on original sources and is very valuable.

5. *Wadda Khalsa Sidq.*—Sant Suraj Singh Gyani, published by Bhais Atma Singh and Kartar Singh of Amritsar. Year of publication not given. D. S. L. It seems apparently a recent publication. It supplies some useful details about the struggle of the Sikhs for independence during the 18th century.

ENGLISH.

6. *The English sources*, so far as they do not contain translations of contemporary oriental authorities, are merely derivative works for the period ending in 1767 Their names will be found in the foot-notes of the book. In order to save space they have not been listed here.

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